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In Memory of
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CLASS of 1927
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

W.H. Mitchell 1927

HISTORICAL COLLECTONS

OF

Louisiana and Florida.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF

Louisiana and Florida,

INCLUDING

TRANSLATIONS OF ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THEIR
DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT,

WITH NUMEROUS

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

By B. F. FRENCH,

MEMBER OF THE LOUISIANA, PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, AND
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

NEW SERIES.

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P R E F A C E .



THE history of the discovery and colonization of Louisiana and Florida is replete with interesting and instructive incident; and, since they have been ceded to the United States, it is gratifying to perceive that, every year, the events of their early history are becoming more attractive to the scholar, and that portion of the public who take an interest in the investigation and study of American Colonial history. And, probably, at no time since their cession could their history be undertaken with so many advantages as at present, when the more enlightened policy of foreign governments (especially England, France, and Spain) have thrown open their national archives to the inspection of the scholar, from which he may now gather materials for history without official restrictions.

It is from facts that history derives its importance, and not from a few striking incidents, embellished with the fascinating language of the historian. With a strong desire, therefore, to explore this untrodden field, and to clear up the mists that hang over their Colonial history, the author of this work undertook, many years ago, to collect materials for a history of Louisiana and Florida; and the favor with which the First Series of his "Historical Collections of Louisiana," and, incidentally, of Florida and Alabama, was received by the public,

has encouraged him to prepare a new series for the press, under the title of "HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA," with the hope that it will not prove unacceptable to the Scholar and the Antiquarian.

In this work will be found translations of copies of original historical manuscripts deposited in the archives of France, and an unbroken series of important events which occurred in the colonization of Louisiana, from 1698 to 1721, never before printed; also, HAKLUYT's translation of LAUDONNIÈRE's history of the attempt of the Protestants (*Huguenots*) of France to colonize Florida, from 1562 to 1567.

The object of this work is to trace, from historical manuscripts, the gradual advance of French and Spanish colonization in Louisiana and Florida, and the progressive extension of our Republican institutions over the vast country acquired from France and Spain, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, and its conversion from a savage wilderness to a populous and highly civilized community.

FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPHS OF THE FRENCH AND
SPANISH GOVERNORS OF LOUISIANA:

de la Salle
1685.

D'Herville 1702.

Bienville 1704.

Lamoignon
1713.

Lepinay
1717.

Perrier 1731.

Jaudreville 1743.

Alexandre O'Reilly
1770

Le Baron de Carondelet 1793

Memoir,

ADDRESSED TO

COUNT DE PONTCHARTRAIN,

ON THE

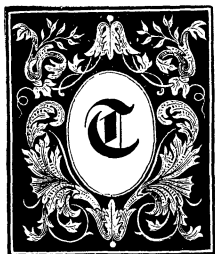
IMPORTANCE OF ESTABLISHING A COLONY IN LOUISIANA.

By M. DE RÉMONVILLE,

TRANSLATED FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DEPOSITED IN THE
MARINE DEPARTMENT, PARIS.

PARIS, Dec. 10, 1697.

Monseigneur :



THE country wherein we propose to establish a colony is one of vast extent, and is 1697. watered by the *Mississippi*, and its tributaries, more than sixteen hundred leagues in extent. The *Mississippi* river has its source in the north-western part of North America, and its mouth in the south-west, where it empties into the Gulf of Mexico. There are many large and beautiful rivers which flow into the *Mississippi*, both on the eastern and western sides, which embrace a vast extent of territory, and is now only inhabited by Indians.

1697. The estuary of the *Mississippi* is in about the thirtieth degree of north latitude; and, although the climate is warm, it is very salubrious in most places. The country abounds in everthing necessary for the conveniences of life. It produces two crops of maize, or Indian corn, annually. It is an excellent article of food; and, when one becomes accustomed to it, the corn of Europe can be easily dispensed with. There are also a great variety of grapes, which make excellent wines, and, we may reasonably hope that, with proper culture, upon the most approved plan, a sufficient quantity of wine could be produced to supply the wants of all the inhabitants of that country.

A great abundance of wild cattle are also found there, which might be domesticated by rearing up the young calves, besides every variety of wild game. In the south-west, towards the Spanish settlements of New Mexico, the country abounds in wild horses, which the Indians readily exchange for articles of merchandize. The greater part of European fruits which grow there are of larger size and better quality. The country is covered with beautiful natural meadows, affording abundant pasturage, and the forests yield an abundance of building material in most places, which, on account of the navigable streams, could be cheaply transported, and the settlers comfortably housed in a short space of time.

The country is beautifully diversified with hill and dale; the air is pure and invigorating, and the winter is seldom felt there. From these causes the colonists could subsist there agreeably, easily, and abundantly.

The trade in furs and peltry would be immensely valuable

and exceedingly profitable. We could also draw from thence a great quantity of buffalo hides every year, as the plains and forests are filled with those animals. 1697.

The country abounds with white mulberry trees, and the climate being the same as that of *Sicily* (Italy) and a part of India, silk worms could be easily raised, and the article of silk would, in time, become a source of infinite value to France. There are, besides, large districts of country where iron, lead, tin, and copper is found in rich deposits. There is also an abundance of cedar and other wood, of variegated colors, suitable for ornamental work, no less beautiful than the Brazilian wood, which are articles of prime necessity for the kingdom.

Hemp is indigenous, and grows to the height of eight or ten feet without cultivation. In many places the country is covered with it. This article would be of great utility for ropes, cables, sails, and the coarsest linen fabrics.

The oak forests are admirable for the ship-timber they produce, and masts may there be obtained equal to those of Norway, so that the company which his Majesty might select could, in a short time, construct all his vessels by simply sending over the necessary workmen.

Such are some of the advantages which may be reasonably expected, without counting those resulting from every day's experience. We might, for example, try the experiment of cultivating fine and long staple cotton, as well as tobacco, which can be produced of as good quality as any that comes from Cuba or Virginia; all of which would be of great public utility, and promote commerce with that country, which will be all the

1697. more advantageous from the fact that it will not be necessary to send out specie, as articles of merchandize and trinkets are all that is desired by the Indians in exchange. Besides, from this traffic, a vast amount of specie will be brought into the kingdom from foreign countries.

It is almost certain that, with good pilots, two or three convenient ports on the Gulf of Mexico and in Louisiana might be established, which it would be the interest of the government to fortify; and, in this manner, his Majesty could, by force of arms, soon secure to himself legitimate possession of the whole of Mexico and Louisiana.

SIEUR DE RÉMONVILLE has visited the whole of this vast province as far as the *Illinois*, and was well acquainted with M. CAVELIER DE LA SALLE,* who gave him important informa-

* The immediate result of the discoveries made in North America, by M. ROBERT CAVELIER DE LA SALLE, was the colonization of the *Mississippi* valley by the French; and although the object of his last voyage, in 1685, was unsuccessful, yet it finally led the King to send an expedition, under M. D'IBERVILLE, to the Gulf of Mexico, which contributed so much to the glory of France.

The particulars of the personal history of M. DE LA SALLE, previous to his voyage down the *Mississippi*, are few. He was a native of *Rouen*, and of one of the most distinguished families there. In early life he resolved to consecrate himself to God, and entered the Society of Jesus. After passing ten years among them, he came to Canada, and, under the administration of M. M. DE COURCILLES and TALON, he showed his great aptitude for prosecuting discoveries, and was very early employed in making explorations of the country bordering on the lakes. M. DE FRONTENAC selected him to command *Fort Frontenac*, where he remained nearly a year.

In 1675, he returned to France, and on the 13th of May, in the same year, he obtained of the King of France the government and property of *Fort Frontenac*, which had been established under the name of *Fort Cataraqui* (now *Kingston*, in Canada West), on condition that he would erect a regular stone fort, and maintain, at his own expense, a sufficient garrison, and *Recollect* missionaries in the Indian villages around it. Animated with lively hopes, he now returned to Canada, with thirty men, and scrupulously fulfilled all these conditions.

tion about this country. He was a man of distinguished birth, and possessed a fine estate. He proposed to me the formation of a company, the establishment of which should be without

1697.

In 1677, he sailed again to France, and in the following year he was commissioned to prosecute the exploration of the *Mississippi* river. The letters patent of 1678 ["Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. 1, p. 35] were issued to him with a distinct political object. The "*El Dorado*" of America was possessed by Spain, and France desired to seize the prize.

COLBERT thought it important, for the service and glory of France, to establish a port for French vessels in the Gulf of Mexico, where the French might establish themselves and harass the Spaniards, in the countries from whence they drew their wealth. With these objects in view, M. DE LA SALLE undertook to descend the *Mississippi* which MARQUETTE and JOLIET had before explored, as far as the *Arkansas* river. On leaving France, he had the good fortune to have had recommended to him, by the Prince DE CONTI, the Chevalier HENRY DE TONTY, as a companion in his discoveries. [See Memoir of M. DE TONTY in "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. 1, p. 52.] He and his companion, M. DE TONTY, left *Rochelle* on the 14th July, 1678, and arrived at *Quebec* in September following. They proceeded to *Fort Frontenac*, where they were joined by the Recollect Fathers GABRIEL LOUIS HENNEPIN and ZENOBE MEMBRÉ, members of the order of St. Francis. On the 7th of August of the same year, LA SALLE set sail from *Kingston*, in the *Griffin*, the first vessel that ever floated on *Lake Erie*, with thirty-two men and two missionaries, and in a few days arrived at *Detroit*, the sight of which was pleasing to his companions. They were delighted with the beauty of the scenery. On the 23d of August, he passed through a small lake, to which he gave the name of *St. Clair*, and entered *Lake Huron*, and in five days more arrived at *Michilimackinac*. Here he disembarked from the *Griffin*, to hear mass celebrated in the chapel of the *Ottawâs*, where he was received by the Indians with every mark of distinction.

In the month of September, he arrived in the bay of the *Puans*, on the western shore of *Lake Michigan*, and on the 18th of September the *Griffin* set sail with a valuable cargo of furs for Canada, but was never afterward heard of. LA SALLE, after the departure of his vessel, continued his route to *St. Joseph*, on the borders of *Lake Michigan*. Here he erected a fort, to which he gave the name of *Miami*. On the 1st of January, 1680, he reached *Lake Peoria*, called *Pimitoni* by HENNEPIN, not far from which he built *Fort Crevecœur*. LA SALLE now determined to return to *Fort Frontenac*, and, before his departure, he instructed HENNEPIN to ascend the *Mississippi* river to its source. While he was exploring the upper *Mississippi*, LA SALLE's affairs grew worse at *Crevecœur*, and he resolved to go to *Montreal* to put his affairs in order, in which he succeeded. At this place he made his will. ["Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol.

1697. expense to the King, and it is in relation to this that I have now the honor to address your Lordship.

M. DE LA SALLE's design was to go to Canada and take with

1, p. 51.] He abandoned his extensive plan of establishing forts at different points in the west, and pursued his route to the sea. He left *Fort Frontenac* on the 28th of August, 1781, accompanied by M. DE TONTY, Father ZENOBE MEMBRÉ, twenty-two Frenchmen, and eighteen savages of the *Mohegan* and *Abenakis* tribes, the bravest in America, crossed the portage at *Chicagou* to the *Illinois* river, and on the 6th February, 1682, he reached the *Mississippi* river, which he named *Colbert*. Like MARQUETTE, he followed the course of the great river, without stopping to survey the beautiful scenery of the adjoining country. As he drew near the outlets of this great inland sea, he met with a number of Indian nations inhabiting its banks, such as the *Tamaras*, *Akansas*, *Chickasaws*, *Tuensas*, *Choctaws*, *Houmas*, and the *Natches*, rendered celebrated by the writings of DU PRATZ, DU MONT, CHATEAUBRIAND, and other travellers; but, being obliged to stop several times, he did not arrive at the mouth of the great river until the 7th of April, and on the 9th he took formal possession of the country in the name of LOUIS XIV, which he named Louisiana. After which, he ordered an authentic act to be drawn up, and a leaden plate, on which was inscribed the arms of France, was deposited in the earth. ["Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. 1, p. 45.] Thus, the discovery of the *Mississippi* (COLBERT) was completed by the French, from its mouth to the *Falls of St. Anthony*, and LA SALLE retraced his steps to Canada. In the following year (1683) he arrived in France, at the period when LOUIS XIV was at the height of his glory, and was acknowledged the most powerful monarch of Europe. Although the great COLBERT was no more, LA SALLE met with the warmest reception by his son SEIGNELAY, who was Minister of Marine, and who could refuse nothing to LA SALLE, who had endowed France with one of the finest countries in the world. He presented to the Minister of Marine two memoirs, which are printed in the first volume of the "Historical Collections of Louisiana." In one he gives an account of the country south of the *Mississippi*; and in the other he urges an expedition, by sea, to take possession, plant colonies, and confirms the statement of HENNEPIN to seize the mines of *St. Barbe*, while, at the same time, he alludes to the possibility of opening a passage to the South Sea. He proposed to his Majesty to unite Canada with Louisiana, and to extend his sovereignty to the Gulf of Mexico. This prospect was readily countenanced by the King, and instructions were given to his minister to proceed immediately to colonize Louisiana. Four vessels were placed at the disposal of LA SALLE, and two hundred and eighty persons were embarked on board, and, while preparing to sail, he was joined by JOUTEL, who ultimately became the historian of the expedition. [See Journal of JOUTEL, in "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. 1, p. 85.]

him a large number of persons of that country, and proceed to the *Illinois*, and follow the same route he had pursued before to the mouth of the *Mississippi* river. Having arrived there, he would commence to construct forts, make a proper examination

1697.

On the 24th of July, 1684, this little squadron, under command of M. DE BEAUJEU, left *Rochelle* for the Gulf of Mexico. Scarcely had they set sail when a misunderstanding arose between DE BEAUJEU and LA SALLE, in consequence of which it led to an error in navigating the vessels, and went out of the proper course, instead of being at the east, they were far to the west of the mouth of the *Mississippi*, and, on the 14th of February, 1685, LA SALLE landed in *St. Bernard's Bay*, now called *Matagorda*, in Texas, at a distance of one hundred and thirty leagues from the *Mississippi*.

The first object of LA SALLE was to build a fort, and, on the 14th of March, M. DE BEAUJEU finally abandoned the young colony left on an inhospitable shore, and exposed to the most imminent danger from the natives. When it was completed, he ascended the *Riviere aux Vaches*, to a distance of about two leagues, where he commenced, in July, the erection of another fort, which he called *St. Louis*, in honor of the King, and abandoned the old fort. This was the settlement which made Texas a part of Louisiana. LA SALLE now resolved to go in search of the *Mississippi* river, and, in October, he left the fort, leaving JOUTEL in command. At the end of four months he returned to *Fort St. Louis* without finding it. Another expedition was then resolved on, and the fort was placed under the command of M. LE BARBIER, and, on the 12th of January, 1687, M. LA SALLE and his companions—JOUTEL, Father ANASTASIUS DOUAY, Cavalier the Priest MORANGET, DUHAUT, and others, in all, seventeen persons—set out for the *Illinois*. On the 16th of March they reached one of the tributaries of the *Trinity River*, Texas. At this point of the journey, a conspiracy was formed to assassinate LA SALLE. He lived about an hour after he had been wounded, and was buried on the spot where he was shot, on the 19th of March, 1687. "Thus perished," says Father ANASTASIUS DOUAY, "our wise conductor, constant in adversities, intrepid, generous, engaging, skillful, and capable of anything. He who, during a period of twenty years, had softened the fierce temper of a vast number of savage nations, was massacred by his own people. He died in the vigor of life, in the midst of his career and labors, without the consolation of having seen their results." ["Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. IV, p. 214.]

To him must be mainly ascribed the discovery of the vast regions of the *Mississippi* valley, and the subsequent occupation and settlement of them, while his name justly holds a prominent place among those which adorn the history of civilization in North America.

1697. of the coasts, and upon his own account, establish necessary measures for taking permanent possession of the province.

He proposed, also, to proceed there by the Gulf of Mexico with two small vessels, carrying with him two or three hundred men, build his forts, and send back a notification thereof; the two projects he left to choice.

He supposed that, peace being established, it would only be necessary to notify foreign countries of the fact of taking possession, and that, being in no danger of external trouble, other matters could be arranged at leisure; not doubting for a moment, that when the feasibility and healthfulness of the establishment became known, a multitude of persons engaged in commerce would readily join the company, and in a year or two all the funds necessary for its perpetuation would be easily obtained.

The SIEUR FOUSSIN, a skillful and intelligent merchant, who had the intention of joining his company, has pointed out the inconvenience of these two propositions. *He has represented—and we know the facts from other quarters—that the English entertain serious ideas of forming a similar establishment. If the route by Canada were taken, they would not fail to anticipate us, and if, by the way of the gulf, with two small vessels, they would be endangered by the English buccaneers and pirates who infest those seas, from New York to Florida and Jamaica; and, in this manner, the English might cut off those two vessels, without which the enterprise would be defeated. It is known that vessels clear from the Thames under false pretexts; and, moreover, the Spaniards would not look quietly on and behold the French settling in their neighborhood, without aiding those enemies in*

a covert manner, even if they dared not commit open hostilities. 1697.

In a word, he does not possess sufficient prudence to succeed with so small a force, and if he should miscarry, he would have no means of returning. Your Lordship must know that M. FOUESSIN carries on an extensive commerce with England, and, besides, there are two brothers of them, one of which is now actively engaged with the English, and has but a short time since returned from Virginia, whilst the other is in Florida, so that he is well informed of the designs of the English upon Louisiana,* and of the great efforts they are making to become masters of the *Mississippi*.

There is, besides, a rumor that Mr. WILLIAM PENN, an Englishman, has sent from Pennsylvania fifty men to the *Wabash* to make a settlement there, by which they can have easy access by land to the *Mississippi*; and, although the route is long and difficult, the English, who are not easily discouraged when the subject of extending their commerce is in question, will, without doubt, surmount all difficulties, if time is given them.

It is, therefore, important that, in forming an establishment of such importance, great diligence is necessary, and forces sufficient should be provided, that the enterprise may not suffer from interruption.

To insure diligence, I have already a number of persons who will join the company with pleasure, provided the shares do not exceed ten thousand livres each. Mr. FOUESSIN and his brother will be of the number; they promise, moreover, to engage two

* See COXE's *Carolina*, First Series "Hist. Collections of Louisiana," Vol. II, p. 223.

1697. or three of their friends in the enterprise; and I have two or three others who will enlist their friends also, provided your Lordship thinks seriously of the matter, and will grant your protection, and such conditions as I shall mention hereafter, which will be explained in a separate schedule, article by article.

The persons who are desirous to join the company are, for the most part, either from their own knowledge, or that of others, well acquainted with the advantages which may be expected from such an establishment. But, as it is impossible to find a sufficient number of persons who are willing to advance the funds necessary for such an undertaking with which they are little acquainted—or, at least, when they do not see at the head of the company a man who has acquired a high reputation in commercial matters, and of sufficient strength or credit. If your Lordship will accelerate the enterprise by placing some well-known merchant at its head, with such others as you may deem proper, there will, then, be no difficulty in finding the necessary funds to make the first voyage with success. Every preparation should be made for the departure of the voyage by the month of March, or sooner, if possible.

As there are vessels now leaving for St. Domingo, if your Lordship would send an order in advance to M. DU CASSE,* to fit out two small vessels, manned by twenty filibusters (*flibustiers*), some pilots, and an engineer, to visit all the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, keep a faithful journal, and even a description thereof, and especially of the rivers which have their

* Governor of St. Domingo, who succeeded M. DE CUSSEY.

outlets in the sea, with an order to send to the Court a copy of said journal, and reserve another copy to give to those vessels which may be sent to found the establishment, when they touch at St. Domingo, for the purpose of taking in supplies, as it would greatly facilitate the enterprise. And, as it is important that the expedition should be kept secret, it will be necessary that sealed orders be sent to the pilots, who should be enjoined not to open them until they had reached a certain latitude. 1697.

But, if your Lordship should not deem this proper, the ships, upon their arrival at St. Domingo, could employ the two small vessels and their crews in sounding the Gulf of Mexico, and finding the mouths of the *Mississippi*.

In regard to resources, the shares being ten thousand livres each, we reckon at least fifty shares in the commencement as necessary to make up the sum of five hundred thousand livres of the original stock, and the more we can obtain the better; but, we maintain, to a certainty, that we can begin with this amount, because his Majesty would have the kindness to relieve the company of all expenses in future.

In the first place, the purchase of necessary ships would absorb the greater portion of the funds of the company, if payment were required upon the first voyage. It is for this reason that we humbly beseech his Majesty to lend us two ships of war, of from forty to fifty guns each, commanded by his own officers, the choice of which should be left to the company, in order that those dissensions, which are common among the King's officers and commercial companies, may not be injurious to the enterprise.

1697. The said vessels, armed with suitable equipage, and provisioned for fourteen months, to serve as a convoy, make the descent, and establish the colony in the most advantageous position. The supplies of stores and provisions is estimated for fourteen months, because it would be necessary for the vessels to remain until the fortifications should be in a condition for defense. His Majesty will have the goodness, besides, to lend the company two or three transports, and a corvette, to be armed and equipped at their expense. The three transports will serve to carry over the colonists and provisions necessary to support them during the voyage and one year in the country; all the instruments and utensils necessary for artizans and laborers can be taken in them, as well as the trinkets and other merchandize necessary to make as presents to the Indians. They will serve, also, to bring back the returns. The corvette will take its departure, with dispatches, the moment the discovery and settlement shall be made. In the second place, his Majesty is humbly supplicated to grant to the company four hundred (400) regular troops of the marine, commanded by their ordinary officers, to be transported in the vessels of war, and landed in such places as shall be deemed most convenient for the establishment of colonies, and to remain there as a guard and protection at the forts which may be constructed, for the space of three years, during which time his Majesty will have the goodness to pay them their ordinary wages; and the company will obligate itself, at its own expense, to provide security for the return of the said soldiers to Europe, provided his Majesty will permit the soldiers and non-commissioned officers who choose

to do so, to enter lands, build houses, and remain there upon the same conditions as other colonists. 1697.

This article is of the greatest importance, in order to give solidity to the colony. For, although the company which shall be formed ought to conduct thither some seven or eight hundred men—mechanics, artizans, laborers, and soldiers at the same time—nevertheless, the regular troops would be necessary; and, if they had, however, to subsist at the expense of the company, they would so absorb the greater part of its funds, which would be of limited amount, from the short time required to organize the same. On the other hand, it would cost his Majesty no greater amount to subsist them in the colony than in France; and, besides, this mark of protection of his Majesty would attract a great number of persons who would otherwise be backward in intrusting their funds in the enterprise.

Whatever company your Lordship may, however, decide upon, it results, of necessity, that a large force must be sent there in the first instance, and afterwards repeated, and, to this end, the funds should be augmented. This may be done in two ways, to wit: by leaving in the funds the profits accruing during the first years, and by receiving new subscriptions to the stock, which will not fail when the merchants see that the affair is successful; but, in regard to the latter, the new shares should be in due proportion, not only to the first, but to the increase which shall have taken place on account of the returns. In whatever manner it might be obligatory upon the company to manage the funds and diminish the expenses, it is necessary, at all events, in order to keep the colonists within bounds, to make

1697. them work, and restrain them from withdrawing themselves from the country; it is important to have a sufficient number of officers to establish subordination among them, and see that they offer no insult to the natives, as it is necessary to deal gently with them, if we wish to reap all the advantages proposed.

Upon the first voyage, grain and vegetables of every description should be taken, and sown in those places best adapted to their growth and culture, and, in this manner, to endeavor that the first colonists shall not only provide for their own sustenance, but be able to give assistance to those who shall arrive thereafter; this would, subsequently, save much expense to the company.

Cocoons should also be taken out for the purpose of raising silk, together with persons acquainted with their management and the art of silk culture; these could instruct others, and even the female Indian, than which nothing could be easier. We may remark, upon this article, that in lower *Dauphiny*, *Provence*, and *Languedoc*, there are people who are much better acquainted with the culture of silk than in any other portion of the country. No pains should be spared to procure the most skillful; but, for the first voyage, such may be taken as could be found willing to go, as there would be no time to make a selection.

To render the trade in hides and wool more profitable, and to provide more abundantly for the inhabitants, it would be well to encourage the Indians to capture cows and lambs alive, which, while of a tender age, could be easily tamed and domes-

ticated. Nothing should be neglected in order to populate the country. The abundance of pasturage will assist greatly to that end. It would be well, even, to instruct the natives in the art of raising cattle. Herds of horses might also be formed. 1697.

The greatest possible number of workmen should be transported there; also masons, carpenters, wood-sawyers, house-joiners, locksmiths, gunsmiths, blacksmiths, and others, as necessity required. There should, also, be skillful engineers to plan the fortifications and houses of the inhabitants for defense. Good pilots should be taken over, with small vessels, with which they could make soundings along the coasts and in the rivers, mark out the dangerous places, and those most convenient for anchorage in the ports. If possible, ship-carpenters should be of the number, with workmen to make sail-cloth, in order to rig out small vessels upon the spot; also rope-makers, cannoniers, and sailors to navigate the rivers and gulf coast, and for the fisheries; and such should be selected as could serve in two characters, either as soldiers or workmen. Two companies of dragoons might be formed upon the spot, of fifty men each, who would constitute a guard for the security of the workmen and laborers when in the country; for, whatever peace may be made with the Indians, they must be always carefully watched. The dragoons could be mounted on native horses. When the company shall have been formed, such things as may be necessary and proper may be added; they can even decide whether it would be prudent that women should be taken over during the first voyage.

There are strong reasons for and against it. If they are

1697. taken, it may be the source of libertinage, debauchery, jealousy, and quarrels, as it would be impossible, in the first instance, to have all married men. On the other hand, women are very necessary for cooking and washing for the mechanics and laborers. If it should be concluded to take them, the chiefs and officers should be very exact in restraining every disorder or disturbance. Such women should also be selected who understand how to sew, knit, and do, also, all other kind of housework.

The company should also supply the colony with all necessary medicines and refreshments for the sick: books, chapels, and vestments for the priests.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

VOYAGE MADE BY ORDER OF THE KING OF FRANCE, IN 1698,
TO TAKE POSSESSION OF

LOUISIANA.

BY M. P. LE MOYNE D'IBERVILLE,

COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION.

TRANSLATED FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL LETTER ADDRESSED TO

M. LE COMTE DE PONTCHARTRAIN,

DEPOSITED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE MARINE DEPARTMENT, PARIS.

Narrative
OF THE
EXPEDITION OF M. D'IBERVILLE
TO
LOUISIANA.

TRANSLATED FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL LETTER ADDRESSED TO M. LE COMTE DE
PONTCHARTRAIN, DEPOSITED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE
MARINE DEPARTMENT, PARIS.

ROCHEFORT, FRANCE, *July 3, 1699.*

Monseigneur :



HAVE the honor to inform your Lord- 1699.
ship I arrived here, from Louisiana, on
the 2d inst., and beg to transmit, here-
with, a brief account of the expedition I
made to that country by his Majesty's
orders. I set sail, in company with the

frigate *Le Marin*, commanded by M. LE COMTE DE SURGÈRES,
from *La Rochelle*, on the 24th of September, 1698, and from
Brest, on Friday, October 24th. We took the route by the *Cape*
of St. Anthony, Cuba, which we doubled on the morning of the
15th of January, 1699, and, on the 24th, at noon, reached the

1699. coast of Florida. We discovered a river, situated twenty leagues to the west of a Spanish settlement, called by them *Apalachicola*,* where there are not more than five or six hundred persons, who have no other commerce with the Indians than a trade in deer and bear-skins.

This river is called *Indus* by the natives, and only admits the entrance of small vessels. From thence we sailed to the west, along the coast, as far as the bay called *Pensacola*† (*Ochus*), into which flows a considerable river, at a distance of thirteen leagues from the *Indus*. On the 26th, we found in this bay two ships, anchored opposite a settlement that had been formed, within three months past, by the Spaniards, from Vera Cruz. There are, at least, twenty-two feet of water at the entrance of the harbor, which is very capacious. The fortifications, as yet, consist only of palisades, of about a man's height. On the 30th, we weighed anchor, the wind being east-south-east, and continued our route towards the west, and, upon the 31st, entered the bay of the *Mobile* river, where we anchored in eight fathoms water. On the 4th of February, we again weighed anchor, having found upon the bar, which is about a league and a half from the bay, but thirteen feet of water, which afterwards increases to four, five, and six fathoms. This bay is very beautiful for habitation; and a large river, with muddy waters, empties into it, at about the distance of thirteen leagues from

* This was the first settlement made by the Spaniards in West Florida. It was afterwards attached to the Vice Royalty of Mexico.

† This bay was first discovered by MALDONADO, an officer in the expedition of DE Soto, called by the natives *Ochus*, and afterwards, by the Spaniards, *Saint Mary of Galvez*.

Pensacola. At a distance of thirteen or fourteen leagues westward of *Mobile*, we found a place formed by islands and the main-land, where there is good anchorage and protection to ships against storms. I resolved to leave the ships there, and go with the small vessels to the neighborhood of *Lago de Lodo* (*Muddy Lake*), which is the name the Spaniards give to the *Bay of St. Esprit* (*Bay of the Holy Spirit*). 1699.

Having no further need of the services of Mr. CHATEAUMORAND, he returned to St. Domingo.* On the 21st, we took

* Extract from a letter, written by an officer on board the frigate *Le Francois*, who accompanied the expedition to Louisiana from St. Domingo:—

“I hope, sir, you will not find it uninteresting for me to give you some account of the voyage I lately made in the ship *Le Francois*, commanded by the Marquis DE CHATEAUMORAND, from St. Domingo to Louisiana.

“We left France on the 15th of October, 1698, with orders to rendezvous at St. Domingo, where we were to open our sealed packages from the Court, in which we found orders to accompany M. M. D'IBERVILLE and DE SURGÈRES, if we found them on the coast of St. Domingo, as far as the coast of Florida, and not to leave them until they were anchored in some good road, or in a port sheltered from the attacks of strangers, and bad weather. Having found them, we set out together on the 1st of January, 1699, and arrived on the coast of Florida on the 24th of the same month, the winds being generally favorable, though very light. We followed the coast from *Cape Blanco*, as far as the isle of *San Diego*, making continual soundings in the long-boats closer to the shore, for the purpose of discovering a port; we, in the ships, kept sounding all around us, as you will see by the plan I send you of all the lands discovered, and bays and harbors seen. Every place where we anchored was marked by a buoy, together with the number of fathoms. We would not have been obliged to go further than *Pensacola-de-Galvez*, had we not found the port occupied by the Spaniards, who have been established there since September, 1698. They have constructed a fort, mounted by seven or eight pieces of cannon, with a garrison of three hundred miserable soldiers, and situated on the western side, which impedes the entrance. We sounded all around. The place where we found the least water is over a sand bar, that extends north and south from the fort, to the distance of about four-fifths of a league. We found there more than twenty fathoms of water. In the port there are two places where a ship can be careened in twenty-five feet of water. There is also a large spring of fresh water. After having visited this port, of which we could

1699. our departure for *Malabouchia*, the name given to the *Mississippi* by the Indians, and, with two row-boats, some bark canoes, and fifty-three men, we entered this river (*Colbert*) on the night of the 2d of March. I found it obstructed by rafts of petrified wood, of a sufficient hardness to resist the action of the sea. I found there twelve feet of water, and anchored two leagues from the mouth of the river, where the depth is from ten to twelve fathoms, with a breadth of from four to five hundred yards.

easily have rendered ourselves masters, if we had not had express orders not to molest the Spaniards, should we find them already posted anywhere on our route, but to proceed along the coast. Some leagues from *Pensacola*, we found a bay, called *Mobile*, which we sounded everywhere, within and without. We found but fifteen feet of water in the channel, and breakers all around. We set sail, and followed the coast line, always making soundings both from the ships and long-boats nearer the land, to see what we could find. One of them, having found good bottom between some islands, came to give us notice to go there and anchor, which we did. In the morning, orders were given to the long-boats to make soundings all around in the neighborhood of the islands, in order to find some good harbor, which was accomplished the next day. We succeeded in finding very good anchorage, north and south of a point of the island, where we lay at anchor all that day upon the south side. The next day, M. d'IBERVILLE went to the north side to place his frigates in safety against dangerous winds, during his absence in search of the river *Mississippi* in his long-boats and gun-boats. We remained some days at anchor upon the south side of the island, endeavoring to find out something relative to this river from the natives, whilst M. d'IBERVILLE was engaged in moving his ships properly. He began by making peace with them after the same manner as was done in Canada. They gave him a friendly reception, although he did not understand their language. Three of the principal men came on board, whom he treated kindly, and gave them clothing, as they had on nothing but the skins of wild animals to conceal their nakedness. They made signs to him that the river of *Palisade* must be the *Mississippi*, and that it was about fifteen leagues distant. The place where we discovered these Indians was on the borders of the river *Pascagoulas*, inhabited by four different nations. Learning that the *Marin* and the *Badine* were anchored in safety, and our provisions being barely sufficient for our return to St. Domingo, we parted with them on the 21st of February, at the place marked *B* on the map, and arrived on the coast of St. Domingo on the 1st of April, whence we set sail, May 10th, for France, and, on the 23d of June, 1699, anchored in *Port Louis*."

On the 3d, the winds prevented me from making soundings 1699.
between the rafts and the three outlets, which extend some
three leagues before entering the sea. I resolved to go up as
far as the *Bayagoulas*, whom we had met with at the *Bay of*
Biloxi, and who had given us to understand that their village
was at the distance of eight days' travel in a canoe from the bay,
which would be equal to about sixty leagues. As I had already
gone thirty leagues, and as it was necessary that I should ascend
the river to become acquainted with its depth, observe the places
proper for establishments, and visit the various Indian villages,
which our Frenchmen said they had seen upon its banks, in
ascending and descending the river. As they pretended that the
Quinnipissas were established at a distance of thirty leagues from
the mouth of the *Mississippi*, I took advantage of a favorable
wind from the south-west to continue my route, leaving, until
my return, the work of sounding the passes.

On the 7th, at a distance of about thirty-five leagues up the
river, I met with some Indians, who told me that it was yet
three and a half days' travel before I could reach the *Bayagoulas*,
and that theirs was the first village I should reach. I took one
of these Indians with me as a guide, as well as for information.
On the 14th, I reached the village, where I was received with
friendly embraces, after their manner. By exact observations, I
found its position was sixty-four leagues from the mouth of the
river. The chief of the *Mongoulachas*, a nation allied with the
Bayagoulas, had on a *poitou-cloak* of blue serge, which he told me
was presented to him by M. DE TONTY. I was, moreover,
confirmed with regard to his visit, by seeing in their hands axes

1699. and knives; but, from the sea up to this village, I found no other sign of the French having visited this section. I met with none of the *Tangipahoes* nor *Quinnipissas* mentioned in the narratives of the Jesuits, and concluded they must be false, as well as those writings about Canada, *Hudson's Bay*, and the return of SIEUR CAVALIER from the *Bay of St. Louis*.

The *Bayagoulas* told me that the *Quinnipissas* dwelt fifty leagues in the interior, and consisted of six villages. They assured me that the river was never obstructed, and was navigable very high up. They named all the nations that inhabited its banks above. But, seeing myself so far up the river without positive proof that this was the *Mississippi*, and that it might be said in France I was deceived, not having met with any of those tribes mentioned in the narratives, I concluded I ought to visit the *Houmas*, on the east side of the river, among whom I knew M. DE TONTY had been; and believing, moreover, that in the course of at least thirty leagues I must meet with that branch of the river spoken of in the narratives, down which I could send a chaloupe and canoe for the purpose of exploration, and ascertain which of the two rivers would be most suitable for settlements. I was apprehensive the Indians only desired to conceal from me that branch, in order to get me to remain upon theirs, as they hoped to reap some advantage thereby.

I renewed my journey, in company with the chief of the *Bayagoulas*, who offered to go with me, with eight of his men, and arrived at the village of the *Houmas*, distant thirty-five leagues. On the morning of the 20th, at 10 o'clock, I entered the village, which is situated two leagues and a half in the

interior, where I was well received; but I could learn nothing more than I had been informed of before. They spoke much of M. DE TONTY,* who had remained some time among them, and made them many presents. 1699.

On the 21st, I returned to my boats, much embarrassed as to the course I should pursue, seeing that I was one hundred and thirty leagues from the ships, and one hundred from the sea; having procured no other provisions than Indian corn, without meat and without grease, my men were fatigued with stemming

* M. DE TONTY was the brave and confidential friend of M. DE LA SALLE, who accompanied him in his exploration of the *Mississippi* river in 1682. In 1683, he was appointed to command *Fort St. Louis*, on the *Illinois* river. On the return of M. DE LA SALLE from France, in 1685, to plant a colony on the banks of the *Mississippi*, he went at his own expense, with forty men, to join him; but, being unable to find him, he returned to Canada, and put himself under the command of M. DE NONVILLE, to engage in an attack on the *Iroquois*; and, after the campaign was over, he returned to *Fort St. Louis*, in 1689, to go in search of M. DE LA SALLE's colony in Texas, which, after many months of privation and suffering, he had to abandon, through the treachery and desertion of the men who accompanied him as far as *Red River*. He again returned to Canada, and subsequently went to join M. D'IBERVILLE on his arrival in the Gulf of Mexico. He returned again to Canada, and was, for a short time, placed in command of *Fort Pontchartrain*. The war between France and England, which continued until 1713, kept him actively engaged in military duties at *Detroit* until peace was declared. The last that we hear of M. DE TONTY is his having engaged, in 1717, to go on an expedition to hold a council with some distant tribes of Indians. He probably died in Canada. His achievements in the exploration of the *Mississippi* valley must always rank him next to DE LA SALLE. Whatever doubt the failure of the first expedition to the Gulf of Mexico may have produced in France, must have been removed by the letter he wrote to M. DE LA SALLE from the *Quinnipissas* village in 1685, on his return up the river *Mississippi* to Canada. The Memoir of M. DE TONTY, from 1678 to 1691, translated from the original manuscript, and published in the first series of the "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. 1, pp. 52-80, 1846, is the only authentic work of M. DE TONTY in print, on which was afterwards based (and published) a spurious work, entitled "*Derniers Découvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, de M. de la Salle, par Chevalier Tonty, Gouverneur du Fort St. Louis, aux Illinois. Paris. 1697.*"

1699. the strong current; and, having little hope of finding that branch I was in search of, I thought the *Houmas* would have the same motives as the *Bayagoulas* in concealing from me the truth. I told them I knew there was a branch, and desired to descend by it to the sea with a portion of my men; that this branch ought to be near a river coming from the west and falling into the *Malabouchia* (*Mississippi*). They told me it was the *Tassenoeogoula* (*Red River*). Finally, I told them I would visit the *Natchez*, or *Tpelois*, who are their nearest neighbors in ascending the river. They offered to conduct me there, and, for this purpose, gave me six men and a canoe.

I left the *Houmas* on the 22d, and took with me a *Tensas*, who was acquainted with the country, and had travelled over as far as the *Arkansas*. He spoke to me of the *Sablonière* (*Rea River*), which he called the *Tassenoeogoula*. He also mentioned the nations dwelling upon its banks, and across which M. CAV-ALIER had passed upon his return from the *Bay of St. Louis* (*St. Bernard, Texas*). Not doubting but that these Indians, as well as the *Tensas*, had an understanding with each other to conceal from me that which I was eagerly desirous to know, in the hope that I would go to their village, near which I already was, I deemed it prudent to enter into no further engagements.

Besides, it was time for me to return and look out for a proper place to make a settlement, which hitherto I had been unable to find. Moreover, the fleet was falling short of provisions. I retraced my steps to the *Houmas*, after having gone beyond their village three leagues and a half, very much vexed

at the *Recollect*,* whose false narrative had deceived every one, 1699. and caused our sufferings and total failure of our enterprise, by the time consumed in search of things which alone existed in his imagination. On the 24th, I arrived at a small river, or stream, about five leagues above the *Bayagoulas*, on the east side of the river, which empties into the sea. This was the only branch of the *Malabouchia* the Indians pointed out to us. I descended to the sea by this stream (*Manchac*, now called *Iberville*) in two bark canoes, with four men, and sent the chaloupes down the river, with orders to sound the passes.

I entered this small river, which is not more than eight or ten paces wide, and about five feet in depth in low water. It was

* The narrative of the *Recollect* here referred to by M. D'IBERVILLE was that of the mendacious Father LOUIS HENNEPIN, who came to Canada in the same vessel with M. DE LA SALLE, in 1675, and was some time employed as a missionary at *Fort Frontenac*, and among the *Iroquois* Indians. In 1680, he accompanied M. DE LA SALLE from Canada to Illinois, from whence he was sent by him to explore the *Mississippi* to its source. He proceeded as far as the *Falls of St. Anthony*, and from thence returned to *Quebec*; and, without reporting to LA SALLE, he returned to France, in 1681, and published a work in Paris in 1683, entitled, "*Description de la Louisiana nouvellement decouverte au Sud-ouest de la Nouvelle France.*" He remained some time at *Chateau Cambrensis*, till ordered, by his superiors, to return to Canada, which he refused to do, and was, in consequence, compelled to leave France. He passed over into England, and entered the service of King WILLIAM III as a Spanish subject, and, in the year 1697, published, at *Utrecht*, a work, entitled, "*Nouvelle description d'un tres grand pays situee dans l'Amerique entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer Glaciale,*" a translation of which appeared in England in 1699, and is, for the most part, a fabrication, made up, in part, of reports of other writers—LE CLERCQ, DOUAY, JOUTEL, and others—with the intention of robbing MARQUETTE and JOLIET of the glory of having first descended the *Mississippi*, which he pretended to have accomplished himself, and whose statements led M. D'IBERVILLE to commit some delays and blunders in ascending the *Mississippi*. Mr. SPARKS, the historian, has completely exposed the falsity and unreliability of that part of his work in which he claims to have descended the *Mississippi* to its mouth. He died at *Utrecht*, in Holland, shortly after the publication of this fictitious work.

1699. full of logs, which in places totally obstructed the navigation, so that in many places we were under the necessity of making several portages during its entire length of eight or nine leagues. After a while, other rivers fall into it, by which its volume is increased, with a good depth of water at all times—from two to three fathoms in the river, and seven to eight in the lakes. It terminates by emptying at the extremity of the *Bay of Lago de Lodo*, eight leagues west of the place where our ships were anchored. It passes through a fine country. The lake I crossed was about three leagues wide, and twenty-five long. Its direction runs parallel with the *Mississippi*, and, in many places, they are separated only by a narrow strip of land, from a quarter to half a league wide, for a distance of twenty-five, thirty, forty, and forty-eight leagues, as far as the mouth of the *Malabouchia*. I reached the ships upon the 31st, finding them forty-six leagues east-south-east from the entrance of the river which I had descended. The route, by the way of this pass, is the most convenient to reach the *Bayagoulas*. There is but little current in the river, whilst that of the *Malabouchia* (*Mississippi*) is very strong and rapid, and it is impossible for bateaux to ascend it, without encountering floating trees and detours, which compel you to wait a change of wind.

In descending, M. DE SAUVOL observed a place, thirty leagues from the sea, that was not inundated.* There was another, about twenty or twenty-five leagues distant, where the land extended back a league or more; but he had no time to explore

* This is now the present site of the city of *New Orleans*.

it; for the borders of the river are covered with such a thick growth of canes, that much time is necessary to advance a league in the interior, nor can much be seen immediately around you. There is from eighteen to twenty fathoms of water in every part of this river, from the *Houmas* village to its entrance in the sea. 1699.

M. DE SAUVOL was prevented from making soundings of the passes upon his return, on account of the strong wind blowing at the time. The entrance of the middle outlet appeared to him, in passing, to be obstructed the same as that to the east. The wind being favorable to reach the ships, and having but few provisions, which he could not obtain among the *Bayagoulas*, he hastened his return. It appears that those Indians had become displeased with our people on account of an insult offered them by the *Recollect*, whose Breviary had either been lost or stolen. He accused the *Bayagoulas*, whose chief ordered our men to depart forthwith. Nevertheless, peace was established with them; but our party was obliged to depart without any supply of Indian corn.

I learned, at the village of the *Houmas*, from the chief of the *Bayagoulas*, that there was a paper among the *Mongoulaches* similar to the one I left with them, which was a letter to the first Frenchman they should see. This letter was placed in their hands by M. DE TONTY, to be given to a captain who would visit their country by the way of the sea. I did not doubt but this was the letter left by M. DE TONTY for M. DE LA SALLE. I gave orders to my brother to procure it in passing down, or rather to purchase it, which was effected in exchange for an axe.

1699. It was, in fact, a letter from M. DE TONTY, written to M. DE LA SALLE, dated at the village of the *Quinnipissas*, the 20th of April, 1685,* by which we see that he named the *Bayagoulas* and *Mongoulaches*, the *Quinnipissas*. I do not see for what reason he did so, unless it were to conceal the fact that the *Malabouchia* was the veritable *Mississippi*, and to avoid the competition of the Spaniards in the neighborhood, who did not regard with pleasure our approach.

After having visited several places well adapted for forming establishments, our provisions rapidly falling short, we thought it best to commence operations at the *Bay of Biloxi*, four leagues north-west of the place where the ships were anchored, and which could be approached at a distance of two leagues. There are but seven feet of water at the entrance of this bay. We made choice of this place, merely on account of the road, where the small vessels can go and come at all times, and where we could assist, without fear, with a portion of the crew, in building the fort which I ordered to be constructed there, whilst, in the meantime, the place most convenient for the colony can be selected at leisure. This fort† is built of wood, with four

* Letter from M. DE TONTY to M. DE LA SALLE :—

“ VILLAGE OF THE QUINNIPISSAS,
April 20th, 1685.

“ SIR,—Having found the column on which you placed the Arms of France thrown down by the driftwood of the river (*Mississippi*), I caused a new one to be erected, about seven leagues from the sea, where I left a letter suspended on a tree. All the nations have sung the *calumet*. These people greatly fear us since your attack upon their village. I close, by saying that it gives me great uneasiness to return, under the misfortune of not having found you. Two canoes have examined the coast thirty leagues towards Mexico, and twenty-five towards Florida.”

† This fort was built on a high bluff of land, and named, by M. D'IBERVILLE, *Maurepas*.

bastions. Two are made of pieces of timber placed together, 1699.
 one foot and a half thick, and nine feet in height. The two
 others are made in double palisades. It is mounted with fifty-
 four pieces of cannon, with a plentiful supply of ammunition.

I left M. DE SAUVOL, naval ensign, in command, who is a
 man of merit, and capable of fulfilling his duty;* my brother,
 DE BIENVILLE, as King's Lieutenant, the SIEUR LEVASSEUR, a
 Canadian, as Major, with M. DE BORDENAC, the Chaplain of
 the *Badine*, and eighty men as a garrison.† I made them sow
 beans and Indian corn, which was growing finely at my depar-
 ture. It is believed that good crops can be raised in that
 country, which is very temperate. On the 3d of May, M. DE
 SURGÈRES and I weighed anchor and set sail from the roadstead
 for France, by the way of the *Bahama Channel*. A storm from
 the south-west separated us at the *Grand-Bank*, on the 11th of
 June; but he will, no doubt, soon arrive, as our vessels were
 about the same sailers. I beg to submit to your Lordship this
 narrative as only a part of what transpired in the expedition to
 Louisiana, which I had the honor to command.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's Obedient Servant,

D'IBERVILLE.

* It may be inferred from this phraseology, that M. DE SAUVOL was not the brother
 of M. D'IBERVILLE, as heretofore published by writers on Louisiana.

† Officers and men left by M. D'IBERVILLE at *Fort Maurepas, Biloxi*:—M. DE
 SAUVOL DE LA VILLANTRAY, Commandant; M. DE BIENVILLE, Lieutenant of the
 King; M. LE VASSEUR DE BOUSSOUELLE, Major; DE BORDENAC, Chaplain; M. CARÉ,
 Surgeon; also, two captains, two cannoniers, four sailors, eighteen filibusters, ten
 mechanics, six masons, thirteen Canadians, and twenty sub-officers and soldiers.

ANNALS
OF
LOUISIANA,

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST COLONY UNDER M.
D'IBERVILLE, TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE
AUTHOR TO FRANCE, IN 1722.

INCLUDING AN
ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND RELIGION OF THE
NUMEROUS INDIAN TRIBES OF THAT COUNTRY.

BY M. PENICAUT.

TRANSLATED FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DEPOSITED IN THE
BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU ROI, PARIS.

Annals
OF
LOUISIANA,
FROM 1698 TO 1722.

BY M. PENICAUT.

TRANSLATED FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DEPOSITED IN THE
BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU ROI, PARIS.

CHAPTER I.



WAS born at *La Rochelle*, France. 1698.

When I was fifteen years of age, I felt
a strong desire to see foreign countries;
and, to gratify my passion for travelling,
I entered the service of his Majesty, in
1698, on board of the frigate *Le Marin*,

commanded by M. LE COMTE DE SURGÈRES, and sailed from
La Rochelle on the month of September of the same year,
in company with the flag-ship *La Badine*, commanded by M.
D'IBERVILLE (who had received orders from the King to sail to
the Gulf of Mexico, and take possession of Louisiana), and

1699. from *Brest* on the 24th of October. We had favorable winds as far as *Cape Francois** (St. Domingo); where we remained some days to take in fresh supplies, and sailed again, on St. Thomas' day, for the Gulf of Mexico, where we arrived on the King's day.

The first land we discovered were two islands, to one of which M. DE SURGÈRES gave his name. This island is five leagues in length, and about a quarter of a league in width. We cast anchor in the roadstead between this and the other island, which M. D'IBERVILLE called *Cat Island*, because we found on it a great many cats. This island is seven leagues in length, and about one quarter of a league in width, and distant about one league from *Surgères Island*.† We killed, there, a prodigious number of wild geese, which are called *outards* in this country, and are of a larger size than our geese in France. We found fish and oysters so abundant, that the crews of the two ships were greatly incommoded by eating too much of them. We saw no marks or vestiges of human habitations in either of these islands. There was an abundance of fresh water, of a palatable quality, although the islands are situated some five leagues distant from the main-land. We embarked, Feb. 27th, about one hundred men in two long-boats and a pinnace, to traverse the coast east and west, as the coast of Florida lies in that direction. We found a bay (*Biloxi*) about two leagues in

* M. D'IBERVILLE was joined here by the frigate *Le Francois*, commanded by the Marquis DE CHATEAUMORAND, who returned to St. Domingo from Louisiana on the 21st of February, 1699, without taking any further part in the expedition.

† Now called *Ship Island*, on account of the good anchorage it affords to ships coming from Europe.

circuit, and about five leagues from the island *Surgères*. Within 1699.
this bay there is an elevation of the land, where M. D'IBERVILLE
conceived the idea of constructing a fort, at which we worked
unceasingly until it was finished. At the entrance of this bay
there is a small island, about a league in length and an eighth of
a league in width, called *Deer Island*, from the great number of
those animals we found there. We worked eight days at the
fort without seeing any of the natives. A party of our men
being out hunting, the report of their guns was heard by some
of them who were in the woods. They were greatly astonished,
and resolved, among themselves, to approach and see what it
could be. Perceiving some of our Frenchmen—who were en-
gaged in cutting down trees contiguous to the fort, for the
purpose of erecting houses—they examined them for a long
time from their place of concealment behind the trees, won-
dering at the color of their faces, and the manner of their
clothing. Some of the soldiers, seeing them, made signs with
their hands to approach without fear. They then spoke to them
in the *Iroquois* language—as the greater portion of our men were
Canadians, and were familiar with the language of that nation.
After a long parley, they approached us, after being reassured,
and were conducted to M. D'IBERVILLE, who received them
very kindly, and gave them something to eat and drink. But,
either their taste was not suited, or, from fear of us, they
refused to eat or drink anything offered to them. They appeared
wholly intent with gazing at us, and greatly astonished at seeing
people whose skin was white, wearing long beards, and some
without hair upon their heads, such as they saw among us, and

1699. so different from themselves, whose skin is of a swarthy color, with heads covered with long black hair, which they are careful to preserve, and without beard. This nation called themselves *Biloxi*; and it was for this reason that M. D'IBERVILLE gave the name to the fort we had built at this place (*Biloxi*). They remained with us two days. M. D'IBERVILLE gave them several presents—such as awls, knives, mirrors, rings, beads, and vermillion. He showed them the use of these articles, which they carried to their village as presents to the chief. Very soon the rumor of the arrival of the French spread among the neighboring nations; and, in about eight days, great numbers of them came, with their chiefs at their head, to smoke the *calumet** and sing the song of peace, according to the Indian custom of treating all strangers who arrive amongst them, and with whom they desire to form an alliance and friendship. The *calumet* is a stick, about a yard in length, or a hollow cane, ornamented with the feathers of the paroquet, birds of prey, and of the eagle. These feathers, arranged around the stick, resemble somewhat the fans used by French ladies. At the end of this stick is a pipe, to which the name of *calumet* is given. The chiefs of the savages, composed of five different nations, called *Pascagoulas*, *Colapissas*, *Chicachas*, *Pensacolas*, and *Biloxis*,† came with great

* *Calumet* means a pipe. It is a Norman word, derived from *chalumeau*, which was the name of a rustic pipe or musical instrument, used among the shepherds at their rural feasts and dances. The name of *calumet* was first given to this Indian pipe by the Normans, who settled in Canada at an early period, which it has ever since retained.

† These tribes, as well as most of those who lived on the east side of the Mississippi river, spoke the *Mobilian* language, although each tribe also conversed in

1699.

ceremony to our fort, singing, and holding out to M. D'IBERVILLE the *calumet*, who smoked it after the manner of the Indians. They then, as a mark of honor, rubbed his face with white earth, as they also did the faces of the brother of M. D'IBERVILLE, and several other officers. The feast of the *calumet* continued three days, during which time they danced and sung three times a day. The third day they erected a post in front of the gates of the fort, around which they danced; they then sought M. D'IBERVILLE, who underwent the following ceremony: One of the Indians having presented his back, he mounted upon his shoulders, whilst another sustained his feet. They carried him to the place where the post was erected, keeping time to the sound of their *chichicois*—which are large gourds filled with small shells, making a rude sound, when shaken, though not very loud. They have another instrument, made from an earthen vessel, about the size of a small brass kettle, over which is extended a deer-skin, somewhat in imitation of a drum, which they beat upon with two sticks, and which gives out as much noise as do our drums. When they arrived before the post, they seated M. D'IBERVILLE upon a deer-skin on the ground. One of the chiefs then seated himself behind his back, and patted him as you would a child that you desired to put asleep. They had spread upon the ground more than three hundred deer-skins, upon which the officers and soldiers were seated.

dialects peculiar to themselves. See "Gallatin's Comparative Vocabulary of fifty-three Indian Nations;" "Hawkins' Vocabulary of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Cherokee Nations, in MS., in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia;" Benj. Smith Barton's "Comparative_vocabularies of the Chickasaw, Conchac, and Mobilian."

1699. After all were properly placed, the Indians, with their bows and arrows, which they carried in bundles on their backs, and wooden shields covered with beaver-skins in their right hands, went, by turns, to *strike the post* with their shields, at the same time singing over their deeds and actions in the wars in which they had been engaged. It is even permitted to everybody, women as well as boys, to go through the same ceremony.

The French then proceeded to the royal magazine, by order of M. D'IBERVILLE, and brought knives, beads, vermillion, guns, lead, powder, mirrors, combs, kettles, cloaks, hats, shirts, breechings, rings, etc. The breechings are made of stuff five quarters of a yard, cut in two, lengthwise, passed around the hips, and thus cover their nakedness. The leggings are made of half a yard of cloth, cut in two, and sewed together like a pair of stockings, through which they pass their legs. Pickaxes and hatchets were also presented them. After which, M. D'IBERVILLE then returned to his lodgings, leaving the savages in the square of the fort, who divided among themselves the presents distributed to them, scrutinizing them all with astonishment, and but little comprehending the uses of most of them. It really gave us pleasure to witness their embarrassment. Some went to tell M. D'IBERVILLE, who returned with the other officers to the square of the fort, and who could not restrain themselves from laughter. He directed that the use of each article should be pointed out to them. We then showed them how to wear their shirts, hats, breechings, and leggings. We sewed up their breechings and leggings so that they could wear them upon their hips; for our Canadians, of whom I have

already spoken, were *au fait* in these matters. We placed 1699.
powder in the pans of the guns which had been given to them,
which were then loaded, and afterwards fired; but, when they
saw the flash of the powder, they let go the gun, which fell to
the ground, from the fear they had of them. M. D'IBERVILLE
ordered the men to fire off blank cartridges before them, which
reassured them; and, as he found some among them bolder than
the rest, one of the Indians made a sign that he wanted the guns
reloaded, indicating that he would fire them. In place of leaning
forward, as is customary, he held the gun to his shoulder, lean-
ing backwards; the consequence was, the concussion knocked
him head over heels, the gun going in one direction and the
Indian in another. It was some fifteen days after this acci-
dent before any of them would again touch a gun. We fixed
handles in their hatchets and pickaxes, and showed them how
to use them. They testified to us, by signs, that they were
highly pleased. Nevertheless, up to that time, their canoes,
with which they went from place to place upon the river, were
made by setting fire to the foot of a cypress tree, the fire con-
tinuing in the interior until it fell to the ground. They then
burned it off at the desired length. When the tree was burned
sufficiently for their purpose, they extinguished the fire with
moist earth, and scraped it out with large shells, which are
very thick. They then washed them with water, in such a
manner as to give them a fine polish. These canoes are some-
times twenty-five or thirty feet long, but they make them of
various lengths, according to the uses for which they are in-
tended.

1699. When our fort was finished, M. d'IBERVILLE returned to France (3d of May, 1699), leaving M. DE SAUVOL in command; M. DE BIENVILLE, King's lieutenant; M. LE VASSEUR DE BOUSSOUELLE, major; DE BORDENAC, chaplain; and other officers.

After the departure of M. d'IBERVILLE, we made preparations to go right and left in search of the *Mississippi*. We took with us some Indians as guides; coasting along in an easterly direction, we found a wide bay, called the *Bay of the Pascagoulas*; because, within this bay, there flows a river, upon the borders of which the *Pascagoulas* are established, at a distance of about twenty leagues inland, and it is from that nation the bay and river take their name. This bay is about five leagues east of *Fort Biloxi*, about one league across, and three in circuit. At its entrance there is an island, about one league distant, called *Round Island*, on account of its form. It is sterile, and uninhabited. Pursuing our course along the coast in an easterly direction, and about a league from the bay, we came to a small river, called, at the present time, by the same name we then gave it, *Fish River*, by reason of the great quantity of fish we found there. A league from that river, we found *Liveoak Point* (*Pointe-aux-Chênes*), an excellent place for the chase, as game of every description abounds there. Three leagues from this point, we came to a river, called *Aderbane*, ten leagues distant from *Biloxi*. This name was given to it on account of a Frenchman, named ADERBANE, who was lost there by drowning. It yet preserves the name. Three leagues further on, we came to *Oyster Point*, so called from the abundance of that shell-fish found there.

This point is opposite to an island one league off, to which we crossed and landed. We were somewhat astonished to find upon this island a prodigious number of human bones, forming a mound of considerable elevation. We since learned that these were the bones of a once numerous nation, who, being pursued by their enemies, took refuge on this island, where nearly all perished from some terrible disease that broke out among them; their bones were brought together and heaped up, after the custom of the Indian tribes. This nation was called *Mobile*, few of whom at present survive. The island is covered with two species of forest trees, cedar and pine, of a very agreeable odor. M. DE BIENVILLE, our commanding officer, named it *Massacre Island* (*Dauphin*). It is about seven leagues long, by a quarter of a league wide. Coasting along the island to return, we crossed a pass, about half a league wide, at the head of which was another island, called *Horn Island*, because one of our men there lost his powder-horn. This island is about three leagues from the main-land, and of the same length and width as *Massacre Island*. It is barren, and is covered with the same species of trees as the other. When we made the head of this island, we sailed for the island *Surgères*, where we had a grand hunt, after which we crossed over to the fort, for the purpose of resting for a few days.

At the end of fifteen days, we set out again, in search of a pass through which we could go to discover the *Mississippi* river, to the west of our fort. The coast, here, all along, is very flat. We found a bay, about one league in width by four in circumference, forming, in shape, a half circle. We called it the *Bay of*

1699.

1699. *St. Louis*, because it was on the day of *St. Louis* that we arrived there. It is about eight leagues west of *Fort Biloxi*. We landed, and found game of every kind in great abundance. We killed, here, more than fifty deer. At the end of three days, we set out again, and, at about three leagues distance, found a small stream, where the tide ebbs and flows. Our Indian guides told us this stream would take us into a large lake; but, as we did not well understand them, we made signs to them that we wanted to pass outward. At two leagues, we found a small island, about a quarter of a league from the sea, to which we gave the name of *Heron's Pass*, on account of the vast number of those birds found there. We left the sea on the larboard side, and, at three leagues, we came to an island, which we called *Pea Island*, because a sack of peas was left there through forgetfulness. We hurried off an hour before daylight, to get rid of the annoyance of swarms of small flies, or *cousins*, which the Indians call *Maragouins*, and which puncture even to the drawing of blood. The stream we had met with corresponded with this place; and, four leagues further on, we discovered a large lake, which M. DE BIENVILLE named *Pontchartrain*. This is about twenty-eight leagues in circumference, and seven wide. Its embouchure, at the entrance, is a quarter of a league from one side to the other. Both sides of the pass, or entrance, is covered with shells, and in such quantity that they form an elevation, which was the reason it was called *Pointe-aux-Coquilles*. When one has passed through this channel, on looking ahead, you see, at the distance of a league and a half to the left, a projection of land, called *Pointe-aux-Herbes*, where the boats

were placed under shelter; because, in this place, the water is shallow, and, in heavy gales, canoes are sometimes lost there. 1699. Six leagues further on is a small river, called, by the Indians, *Choupicatcha*, which the French afterwards called *Orleans* (*Bayou St. John*), because, since that time, as will be seen in its proper place, the city of *New Orleans* was built near this river, about a league from the lake. Five leagues further, turning always to the left on the lake shore, we found a bay of still water, which the Indians call *bayou*, which is a kind of drain, or gully, through which the waters of the higher grounds are carried off. We encamped here, as our Indian guides told us we could cross over from this place to the *Mississippi* river.*

Next morning, having secured our boats in this cove, we started on foot to go to the banks of the river. We passed, three quarters of a league, through a cypress forest. These trees are only found in low and swampy countries, which grow to a prodigious height, and bear a fruit resembling an olive. After this forest, we passed through a cane-break, which bears a kind of oats, of which the Indians make bread, of an agreeable taste. They also make a soup from it, which they call *sagamite*. Having crossed these canes for a quarter of a league, we arrived on the borders of the *Mississippi*, at which we were

* Previous to the exploration of this river by Father MARQUETTE and JOLIET, the natives of the North sometimes called it *Meshacebe* (or *Great River*), *Namese-Sipon* (or *River of the Fishes*). In some places *Tapata*, and, where it entered the Gulf of Mexico, *Ri*. The Indian name, says GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, on the authority of JUAN COLES, one of DE SOTA's followers, was *Chucagua*, and, by the GENTLEMAN OF ELVAS, *Rio Grande*; afterwards, by the Spaniards, *La Palisade* and *Rio Escondido*; by the French, *Mississippi*, *Colbert*, and *St. Louis*.

1699. greatly rejoiced. We regarded this beautiful river with admiration, which is at least half a league wide at the place where we first saw it, about forty leagues from its entrance into the sea. The water is of a light color, very good to drink, and very light. The country, on its banks, appeared to be everywhere covered with splendid trees of every description, such as oak, ash, elm, and many others, the names of which we did not know. We encamped that night on the river's bank, under the trees, upon which a vast number of wild turkeys roosted. We killed as many of them as we wanted by moonlight, as they were not in the least disturbed or afraid of the firing of our guns. I can truly say, that I never saw turkeys in France so fat and large as these were, as their nett weight was about thirty pounds! The next day, we returned to our boats, and our companions, whom we had left as a guard, were highly delighted to learn we had slept on the banks of the mighty river. We continued on our way, along the borders of *Lake Pontchartrain*, in order to make the circuit of it, and, at the distance of about five leagues further on, encamped on the borders of a *manchac*, which signifies, in the French language, a strait, a pass, or a rivulet, flowing from the *Mississippi*.

Through this pass we entered another lake, a short distance from the first, which is now called *Lake Maurepas*; it is about ten leagues in circumference, and two across. The following day we continued our route, coasting along the shores of *Lake Pontchartrain*, and, at about one league from *Manchac*, found another river, called, by our Indian guides, *Tangibao*,* which

* It also took its name from a tribe of Indians that lived on its banks.

means white corn (*bled-blanc*). The water of this river is very agreeable. Three leagues beyond, following the same channel, we found a *bayou*, or tranquil water, called *Castein Bayou*, which signifies the place of the passes. Next day, five leagues from this *bayou*, we came to a river falling into the lake, called, by the Indians, *Taleatcha*, which signifies the *River of Pearls*. Here we found those shells previously mentioned, with which the Indians scrape out their canoes after burning. Beautiful pearls are sometimes found in those shells. We presented some two dozen, or more, to M. DE BIENVILLE, our commander. This river is only about three leagues from *Pointe-aux-Coquilles*. At this place we left *Lake Pontchartrain*, and ascended it for the distance of half a league to another of its branches, which passes *Pea Island*, which is about three leagues from the forks of the river. We encamped here, by reason of the accommodations afforded by the river, the water of which was excellent to drink, and a great convenience to our men, as the water of *Lake Pontchartrain* is brackish, and is affected by the ebb and flow of the sea.

The next day we left *Pea Island*, and passed through the little *Rigolets*, which lead into the sea about three leagues from the *Bay of St. Louis*. We encamped at the entrance of the bay, near a fountain of water that flows from the hills, and which was called, at this time, *Belle-Fountain*. We hunted, during several days, upon the coast of this bay, and filled our boats with the meat of the deer, buffaloes, and other wild game which we had killed, and carried it to the fort (*Biloxi*). On arriving there, we gave to M. DE SAUVOL, our commander-in-chief, a detailed

1699. account of the discovery of that river, incomparably beautiful, as well on account of its size as of its charming borders. M. DE BIENVILLE presented to him the pearls we had found in the shells of *Pearl River*, which he said he would give to M. D'IBERVILLE; we never afterwards heard of those pearls, and did not know whether they were of a fine quality or not. Some days after our return, the Indians, whom we had as guides, expressed to M. DE SAUVOL a desire to return to their village, and wished we would go with them. M. DE SAUVOL gave them to understand that it would give him great pleasure to comply with their request. We set out in one of our long-boats, manned by ten or twelve Frenchmen; and, after leaving the fort, encamped at the mouth of a river, of the same name as themselves (*Pascagoulas*), which empties into the bay of that name. We ascended the river twenty leagues from its entrance into the sea, and, on the third day, arrived at their village. As it was near the end of August, and the weather very warm, all the Indians there were as naked as when born—that is, the men and boys; but the women and girls had a little moss fastened to their thighs, which covered their nakedness, the rest of their body being entirely naked. This moss is an herb of a long, fine fibre, growing upon the trees, which the French of this part of the country called *Spanish-beard*, by way of derision, and which the Spaniards, in retort, called the *French-wig*. We were perfectly well received by their grand chief, and by all the inhabitants of the village. They gave us something to eat and drink—among other things, bear, deer, and buffalo meat, and all kinds of fruit, of which they have an abundance, such as peaches, prunes,

watermelons, pumpkins, and all of an excellent flavor. The pumpkins are far superior to those in France; they are cooked without water, and the juice which comes from them is as sweet as syrup made from sugar. As regards the watermelons, they are nearly the same as in France. The fish are larger and better; but the prunes are not so good; there are two sorts—white and red. They served us, also, with their *sagamite*, which is a boiled dish, made of corn and beans. Their bread is made of corn, and a species of grain, which grows upon the canes. They have wooden as well as earthen plates, and we observed that they were very well made.* Their women, also, make earthen pots, in which they cook *sagamite*, at one time, sufficient for two or three families. In this manner they arrange, among themselves, so as not to be obliged to cook every day, each one taking turn about. Their cabins were made of earth, and of a round shape, somewhat like our wind-mills, the roofs being generally covered with bark; but some were covered with a species of leaf, which is called, in this country, *latanier* (*palmetto*), a shrub peculiar to the country.

One thing I have particularly observed among these savages, to wit: that, however abundant provisions may be with them, they never eat to excess; but, very improperly, they always eat with their fingers, although they have spoons made from the horns of the buffalo. Their meat is generally smoked, or buccaneered, as they say in that country. They have, nevertheless,

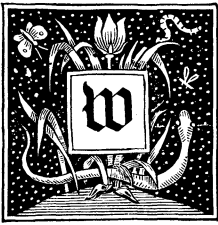
* The pottery of the Southern Indians, especially the *Natchez*, was artistically made. Many beautiful specimens may be found in private cabinets in the South, not inferior to the best specimens of Mexican and Peruvian art.

1699. a kind of gridiron, under which they kindle a slow fire, merely drying the meat, the smoke contributing to this effect as much as the heat of the fire.

The Indians, when they dance, beat a noise with their drums and *chichois*, and form into bodies of twenty or thirty together. A dancing-master keeps at the head of each band. At the sound of a whistle, they break from their ranks, intermingling with each other, always observing a particular cadence; at another blow of the whistle they form into rank again, and whirl around with wonderful uniformity.

We slept at the house of the grand chief, upon beds of canes covered with buffalo-skins. The next day we went to visit their fields, where they cultivate their corn. The women were at work with the men. The Indians have flat sticks, with which they break up the ground, for they do not understand the mode of using utensils as we do in France. They scrape the ground with a stick, and cut down the brushwood and weeds, which they leave in the sun to dry, which, after a time, they burn, and, after they are burnt to ashes, they take a large stick, with which they dig a hole in the ground, and place seven or eight grains of corn in each hole, and cover it with earth. When the corn is about one foot high, they take great care of it, as we do in France, and remove all the weeds, an operation which is performed two or three times during the season. They even, at the present time, use their wooden instruments in preference to those of iron, which we have given them, because they are lighter. After remaining some time in their village, we returned to the fort.

CHAPTER II.



E were very impatient for the return of 1700.

M. D'IBERVILLE, being constantly on the look-out for him at the point projecting from the fort.* Finally, on the morning of the King's day (6th January, 1700), we heard the firing of can-

non from *Surgères Island*, five leagues distant from our fort, announcing the arrival of M. D'IBERVILLE, in command of the *Rénommée*, of fifty guns, and M. DE SURGÈRES of the *Gironde*, of forty-six guns. M. DE SAUVOL also gave orders to announce their arrival by a discharge of all the guns and musketry at the fort (*Biloxi*). M. D'IBERVILLE was received with every possible demonstration of joy; but he only remained a few days at the fort, at the end of which he selected sixty men to go with him to the *Mississippi*, among whom were his two brothers, M. M. DE BIENVILLE and DE CHATEAUGUAY, M. M. DE BOISBRIANT and JUCHEREAU DE ST. DENIS, and left M. DE SAUVOL, the

* This picturesque point, or bluff, now overgrown with the magnificent live-oak and forest trees of the South, is still a prominent feature of interest to the traveller and antiquarian, in the landscape that surrounds the fort and *Bay of Biloxi*, the seat of the first French colony in Louisiana.

1700. commander of the fort, in charge of the ships, who gave orders to have the merchandize and ammunition placed in the King's stores. We then took our departure, to ascend the *Mississippi*, from its entrance into the sea, first making a stop at our ships, to take in the necessary provisions. M. D'IBERVILLE also consulted with M. DE SURGÈRES, as to the care and security of the ships during his absence. We left the ships in three long-boats (*chaloupes*), and encamped seventeen leagues west of *Fort Biloxi*, near *Point à l'Assiette*, thus named because M. D'IBERVILLE had lost a silver plate there. Our next encampment was twelve leagues further on, at a point called *Trépied*. The next day, we landed on the banks of a small river, six leagues further on, named *Dog River*, because one of our dogs was devoured there by a crocodile; and, six leagues from there, we came to the mouth of the *Mississippi*, which we entered, and encamped on the right bank ascending.

The entire coast, from *Fort Biloxi* to the entrance of the river, and for eighteen leagues in ascending, the land is very low, having been formed by the alluvion precipitated by the waters of the *Mississippi* at high water. There are three passes at the mouth of the river, forming two small islands. The straightest of the passes, which is to the right, is the deepest, although there are at times but eleven feet of water in it. We entered the river on the 15th, and, after having ascended ten leagues, we met with a dense forest of trees, bordering the river, on the right and left. At this distance, there is a small strait, or pass, through which the waters of the river enter. We named it *Bayou Mardi Gras*, from the day on which we

passed it. Eight leagues higher up, M. D'IBERVILLE observed a spot very convenient for the erection of a fort, which he resolved to construct when he descended the river. Eight leagues beyond is a bend in the river, three leagues around, which is called the *English Turn*, the reason for which I will give in its proper place. Twenty-four leagues higher up, on the left, is a river, called *Chetimachas*,* and five leagues beyond this is the first Indian nation inhabiting the banks of the river, called the *Bayagoulas*, where we arrived on the 19th February. So soon as they perceived us, they fled with their women and children into the woods, so that, when we entered their village, we found no one there. M. D'IBERVILLE was not surprised at this, he believing that it was through fear of us they had abandoned their houses. He immediately dispatched two Frenchmen and an Indian, to assure them of our pacific intentions. They ran after, and overtook them in a short time, as they were impeded by their children. Our Indian spoke to them, and told them we were good people, and advised them to return. Although somewhat distrusting, they returned with the *calumet* of peace in their hands. When they arrived at the village,† they presented the *calumet* to M. D'IBERVILLE, and the other

1700.

* This branch of the *Mississippi* (*Bayou La Fourche*), is one of the principal outlets of the river to the gulf. The present town of *Donaldsonville* is built on the site of an ancient village of the *Chetimachas*, one of the most interesting tribes of Indians of Louisiana. A vocabulary of this nation, by MARTIN DURALDE, in manuscript, is deposited in the library of the American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*. J. S. VATER, *Analekten der Sprachenkunde*. *Leipzig*, 1821.

† The village of the *Bayagoulas* was situated about twelve leagues below *Baton Rouge*, who were much attached to the French. They cultivated tobacco and corn, and were an intelligent and industrious race of Indians.

1700. officers, to smoke. They also supplied us with flour, which is diluted with water, and baked; also with bread, fish, and meats, prepared after their fashion. A little while after, they sang the *calumet*, after the manner of the Indians.* In the evening, they asked if we had eaten enough, and if we wanted a woman for each man. M. D'IBERVILLE showed them his hand, told them their skin was red and swarthy, and should not be blended with that of the French, which was white. We remained three days in their village, until their *calumet* was finished: made them presents of some *bagatelles*, such as mirrors, rings, pick-axes, etc., which they beheld with admiration, and afterwards we showed them how to use them. M. D'IBERVILLE told the chief that he would depart in the morning, and would like some fowls to take with him. The village was filled with them, and they supplied us bountifully. We took four of this nation as guides, and left with them a young Frenchman, to learn their language.

We took our departure the next morning, and, at the distance of about five leagues, in ascending on the right hand side, came to the *Manchac*, a small stream, of which I have already spoken, that empties into *Lake Pontchartrain*. Its current is very rapid, which renders the ascent difficult, besides, it is very narrow. Five leagues above this stream we came to where the banks of the river are very high, called in that country *bluffs* (*écores*), and, in the Indian language, *Istrouma*, which signifies *Baton Rouge*

* The ceremony of presenting the *calumet* is minutely described by Father MARQUETTE in his narrative of the discovery of the *Mississippi* river. See First Series "Historical Collections of Louisiana," *New York*, 1846, Vol. 1, p. 290.

(*Red Post*), because at that place there is a post painted red, 1700.
 which the Indians have placed there to mark the boundary line of the territory of the two nations—the *Bayagoulas*, whence we had come, and another Indian nation, about thirty leagues above *Baton Rouge*, called the *Oumas*. So jealous were those two nations of their hunting grounds, that they put to death all of their neighbors whom they found trespassing beyond the limits of the red post (*Baton Rouge*). But such is not the case at the present time, as they go to the chase everywhere together, and are all friends. Five leagues above this post, on the right hand side, there are very high bluffs of white earth, about three quarters of a league in length, at the upper part of which is a neck of land, seven leagues in circuit. To avoid going round this point, M. D'IBERVILLE had the boats transported across this neck of land, which is about a musket-shot wide, and, in a very short space of time, we were on the other side of the *Mississippi*. Such is the rapidity of the current, that the waters soon after wore a channel through this place, from which cause this post took the name of *Point Coupée*.

Opposite a small island, eight leagues higher up, is a portage, rendered remarkable by a cross, which M. D'IBERVILLE planted, and where we chanted the "*Vexilla Regis*"* on our knees, a ceremony which appeared strange to those Indians. We explained to them that the cross was an emblem greatly esteemed

* "*Vexilla regis prodeunt,
 Fulgis crucis mysterium.*"

The Banners of Heaven's King advance,
 The mystery of the Cross shines forth.

1700. in our religion, and that they should preserve it from being thrown down. We called this place *Portage de la Croix*. Here is the main route to the village of the *Oumas* Indians,* which is situated two leagues inland. M. D'IBERVILLE and his officers landed at this place, and went to their village, after giving orders to make the detour of the point with the boats, where they would rejoin us. The distance around was ten leagues. We discovered the mouth of a large river, called *Sablanière* (*Red River*); it falls into the *Mississippi* on the left hand side in ascending. We will speak of this river more fully hereafter.

Two leagues beyond, we found the *Bay of the Oumas*, in front of which was a small island. We landed there on the 7th of March, on the borders of which is their village. M. D'IBERVILLE, and all the officers, had been there two days. We remained three days, and, after they had finished chanting the *calumet*, M. D'IBERVILLE made them presents, as he had done to the others. They gave us poultry and game, which we carried to our boats; nor did we fail to take four of them as guides in place of the four *Bayagoulas*, whom we sent back. Thus, we changed from one nation to the other, in order not to fatigue them; and, at the same time, in arriving among them, they would have less fear and distrust by seeing other Indians with us.

* The nation of the *Oumas*, or *Houmas*, occupied a district of country on the east side of the river, about twelve leagues above the *Bayagoulas*, and were much attached to the French. They were reduced, by sickness and war, to less than a hundred warriors, when Louisiana was ceded to the United States. The grant of land to the Marquis D'ANCENIS was situated about six leagues below this nation.

Upon leaving the village of the *Oumas*, we kept on our upward route, fifteen leagues above. The river, here, is divided into three channels, forming two islands, about half a league in length; and, one league above these, we coasted along on the right hand side, where the banks are of a prodigious height (*Ellis' Cliffs*). At the head of these bluffs is a small river (*St. Catherine*), that comes from a village four leagues distant, and one league back from the river. We landed, in order to visit the village, where we were perfectly well received. These Indians are called the *Natchez*, and are the most civilized of all the nations. They were very kind and obliging to M. D'IBERVILLE and his officers, who had arrived there on the 5th of March, and concluded a treaty of peace. They chanted the *calumet* of peace during three days, at the end of which we departed, laden with game and poultry. M. D'IBERVILLE distributed to them presents, as he had done to all the nations who had chanted the *calumet*. In the sequel, we will speak of their manners, of their religion, and of their temples.

On the 12th of April, we left the *Natchez*, and coasted along to the right, where the river is bordered with high gravelly banks for a distance of twelve leagues; at the extremity of these bluffs is a place we called *Petit Gulf*, on account of the whirlpool formed by the river, for the distance of a quarter of a league. Eight leagues higher up, we came to *Grand Gulf*, which we passed, a short distance above, on the left hand side. We landed, to visit a village, situated four leagues in the interior. These Indians are called the

1700. *Tensas*.* We were well received; but I never saw a more sad, frightful, and revolting spectacle than that which happened the second day (16th of April) after our arrival in this village. A sudden storm burst upon us. The lightning struck the temple, burned all their idols, and reduced the whole to ashes. Quickly, the Indians assembled around, making horrible cries, tearing out their hair, elevating their hands to heaven, their tawny visages turned toward the burning temple, invoking their *Great Spirit*, with the howling of devils possessed, to come down and extinguish the flames. They took up mud, with which they besmeared their bodies and faces. *The fathers and mothers then brought their children, and, after having strangled them, threw them into the flames.* M. D'IBERVILLE was horrified at seeing such a cruel spectacle, and gave orders to stop it, by forcibly taking from them the little innocents; but, with all our efforts, *seventeen* perished in this manner; and, had we not restrained them, the number would have been over two hundred.

At the close of the third day of chanting the *calumet* of peace, M. D'IBERVILLE distributed his presents as usual, but in greater number than he had to the other tribes. He persuaded them, also, to abandon their present location, and establish themselves on the banks of the *Mississippi*.

As the period of his return to France was rapidly approaching, and the other tribes were too remote for a present visit, he

* The *Tensas* nation was allied to the *Natchez*, and spoke the French and *Mobilian*. The Catholic missionaries never succeeded in making any converts among them. They scrupulously observed all the religious rites and ceremonies of the *Natchez*.

1700.

resolved to descend the river.* We set off the next morning, and, in the evening, arrived at the *Natchez*, where we encamped, and met M. DE ST. CÔME, a Catholic missionary. Next morning, the chiefs of that nation came to reconduct M. D'IBERVILLE to the banks of the river. He promised to send them a French lad, in order to acquire a knowledge of their language. The next evening, we encamped at the *Oumas*, as we progressed rapidly with the strong current of the river. Afterwards, we went to the *Portage de la Croix*, and then to the *Bayagoulas*, where we found the French boy whom M. D'IBERVILLE had left in our ascent, and who had already made considerable progress in the knowledge of their language. M. D'IBERVILLE told him to remain in the village, to serve as an interpreter for those who should pass this way. We next arrived at the spot that M. D'IBERVILLE had marked out as a suitable place for a fort,† where we found a gun-boat, which M. DE BIENVILLE had brought from *Biloxi*, with materials for its construction.

M. DE BIENVILLE, in descending from the *Natchez* on his route to *Biloxi*, met, on the 16th of September, a small English

* On the 22d of April, 1700, M. DE BIENVILLE set out with M. DE SAINT DENY, and twenty Canadians and Indians, to visit the YATASSE nation, on *Red River*, and, on the same day, M. D'IBERVILLE returned to the fleet, where M. DE BIENVILLE afterwards joined him.

† This fort was built after the attempt made by the English to plant a colony on the banks of the *Mississippi*. At the foot of the cross, erected near the fort, the following inscription, on a leaden plate, was affixed, by order of M. D'IBERVILLE :—

D • O • M •

The French first came here from Canada under M. DE LA SALLE, 1682. From the same place, under M. DE TONTY, in 1685. From the Sea Coast, under M. D'IBERVILLE, in 1700, and planted this cross Feb. 14. 1700

1700. frigate,* careened in a bend of the river, about three leagues in circuit. He demanded of the captain what he was doing in the *Mississippi*, and if he was not aware that the French had already established themselves in this country? The Englishman was much astonished, and replied that he was ignorant of the fact, and soon after retraced his steps to the sea, at the same time uttering threats against M. DE BIENVILLE and the French. It was from this circumstance that the bend of the river was afterwards called the *English Turn*.

M. D'IBERVILLE having traced the plan and size of the fort which had been commenced, he made the necessary arrangements to supply it with provisions, and six cannons for the battery fronting the river; and, placing his brother, M. DE BIENVILLE, in command, with twenty-five men, he returned to *Biloxi*, followed by two of our long-boats, and five French Canadians, who, hearing of our establishment at *Biloxi*, had come to trade with us.

He made us row night and day till we reached our ships, where he held a conference with M. DE SURGÈRES, relative to the quantity of provisions on hand. He then went to the fort, at *Biloxi*, to examine the amount of ammunition there, and increased the garrison with the addition of sixty Canadians, which he had brought with him on his first voyage with M. DE SURGÈRES. After having taken leave of M. M. DE SAUVOL

* This frigate was commanded by Captain BARR, and was fitted out, in 1698, by the English, with instructions to take possession of Louisiana, and establish a colony on the banks of the *Mississippi* river. First Series "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Part III, p. 230.

and DE BOISBRIANT, he set sail for France on the 3d of May, 1700.
 1700. But, before his departure, he recommended M. DE
 SAUVOL to place twenty men, under the command of M. LE
 SUEUR, to go to the copper mines in the country of the *Sioux*,
 about nine hundred leagues from the mouth of the river, and
 above the *Falls of St. Anthony*.

I was recommended, by M. DE SAUVOL, to join this expedition, because, being a ship-carpenter in his Majesty's service, my services would be necessary in building and repairing boats, and, from this circumstance, I was an eye-witness of what I here relate. After M. LE SUEUR had laid in provisions, and all the necessary mining implements, he embraced M. DE SAUVOL, and, at the end of April, took his departure, with one long-boat, in which were twenty-five men. I will not make any unnecessary description here of the country, as I have already described the several places on the *Mississippi* as far as the *Tensas*. We started off the next day, and were twenty-four days in reaching the *Tensas*, on account of the current of the river, which, towards the end of May, becomes very rapid, from the melting of the snow in the mountains, which swells the tributaries of this river at this season of the year.

After we had passed the *Tensas*, ten leagues above, on the right hand side, we came to a river, called the *Yasous* (*Iajoux*). Four leagues higher up, on the right, we found a number of villages, where six nations were dwelling—the *Yasous*, *Offogoulas*, *Tonicas*,* *Coroas*, *Bitoupas*, and the *Oussipes*. In one of those

* The *Tonicas*, or *Tunicas*, formerly lived on the east side of the *Mississippi* river, above *Point Coupe*. They were a powerful nation, and always lived upon good terms

1700. villages, we found a French priest, who was accompanied by a servant; also, a Frenchman, who showed us much kindness and attention, and were delighted to meet with us. He came among these Indians as a missionary, to endeavor to convert some of them. The next morning, before our departure, he performed mass. We told him M. D'IBERVILLE had formed a French establishment in the country, but he had already been informed of it. After giving his benediction, he embraced us all, and, accompanying us to the boats, bade us adieu.

From this place, we ascended the river some sixty leagues to a river, called *Arkansas* (*Tonty*), about half the width of the *Mississippi*, and runs from the north and west. Eight leagues above the mouth of this river, on the left, is the *Arkansas* nation, from which the river takes its name. There are two other tribes in their village, called the *Tourimans* and the *Cappas* (*Quawpas*). They gave us a kind reception, and chanted the *calumet*, but they could furnish us with but few provisions, as the high waters had driven all their cattle and game into the interior. This is a very warlike nation. They are great hunters, and live entirely by the chase when the waters of the *Mississippi* are low, for, at that time, their country is full of game. This is the reason they are not fond of labor, and give but little attention to the culture of their fields. Their women do much more labor than the men. They are handsome, and

with the French. They assisted them in their wars with other nations, and especially against the *Natches*, for which the King of France presented their chief with a gold-headed cane and silver medal. They spoke the French and *Mobilian* languages. A vocabulary of their language, in manuscript, is deposited in the library of the American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*.

almost white. The men are stout, and thick-set. We found 1700.
 an English trader here, who was of great assistance in obtaining provisions for us, as our stock was rapidly declining, which caused us to hurry our departure. Twenty leagues above, we found a river, which we called *St. Francis*, a name it retains to this day. It is about a league in circumference. Twenty leagues higher up, on the right hand side, the banks are very elevated; a small river empties into it, called *Rivière à Margot* (*Wolf*). It is by this river you go to the village of the *Chicasaws*, distant about thirty leagues from the borders of the *Mississippi*. As the village was so far off, we did not visit it. Forty leagues above, on the right, ascending, are the *Prudhomme Bluffs*, so named from a French Canadian, who had built a block-house fort here, in which he died, and which yet bears his name. Fifty leagues above, on the same side, are the *Iron Banks*, or *bluffs*, and five leagues beyond the mouth of the river *Wabash* (Ohio), its course being from east to west, and as large as the *Mississippi* at its mouth. In ascending this river, you can go as far as Canada. Its banks abound in every species of game.

Ten leagues from the mouth of this river, another falls into it, called *Kasquinempas** (Tennessee). It takes its source from the neighborhood of the *Carolina*, and passes through the village of the *Cherokees*, a populous nation, that number some fifty thousand warriors.

Fifteen leagues above the mouth of the *Wabash* (Ohio), on the right hand side of the *Mississippi*, you meet with the *Cape of*

* This river is sometimes called the *Casquinambaux*, or *Cheraquis*, on old maps.

1700. *St. Anthony.* This is the place where the French come to get millstones. Near this cape our provisions totally failed us. We were obliged to remain here twenty-two days for supplies. Each one of us was obliged to take our guns, and go into the woods, and seek for the necessaries of life. Some of our men were obliged to subsist upon the sap, young leaves, and tender buds of the trees, as it was the spring time, and the river's banks were already overflowed in many places. Three of our comrades went on the other side of the *Mississippi* with a canoe, where, having landed, they fastened it to a tree, and, being separated in the hunt, they killed some bears, which we found excellent eating.

We waited at this place for provisions, because the priest we had met some days previous, opposite the *Prudhomme Bluffs*, was on his way to the sea, to visit M. D'IBERVILLE, and who, having learned of his return to France, had changed his intention. Before returning to the *Illinois*, he had given us all the provisions he could spare, and even deprived himself of those which were necessary. M. LE SUEUR begged him to send us a canoe loaded with provisions, and we would await him at *Cape St. Anthony*, for we were so feeble from want of nourishment, that we could not continue our voyage. He departed immediately, and promised to pursue his route day and night, in order to come to our relief as soon as possible. Nor did he fail in his word; for, as soon as he returned to the *Illinois*, he sent a canoe filled with every kind of provisions, which reached us in twenty-two days, in our greatest distress.

Father LIMOGES was in this canoe, with four Frenchmen,

who were to conduct him to *Biloxi*. We thus passed three days in repairing our strength, at the end of which we again took our departure. Six leagues higher up, we came to *Cape St. Cômes*, and eight leagues thence to the mouth of the *Illinois*. 1700.

The *Kaskaskias* have, within a few years, established themselves in a place two leagues from this river in the interior. There is a small desert island opposite the mouth of this river. Ascending three leagues further, we came to *Little Salt River*, thus called, because in the neighborhood are found two branches (*Gabourie* and *Platine*) of salt water. This is the place where the French, among the *Illinois*, come to get their salt. We remained here some days to hunt deer, which are found in great numbers, as those animals are very fond of salt. Eight leagues higher up, we came to a small river, called *Maramecq* (*Marameg*). It is by this route that the Indians go to the lead mines, which are about fifty leagues distant up the *Mississippi*. Ten leagues further, we came to a village of the *Illinois*, situated on the banks of the river. We approached, with our sails up, and saluted them with a volley of a dozen muskets; these Indians were much surprised, but particularly so at our long-boats, as they had never before seen anything larger than bark canoes from Canada, and a few *pirogues* from Louisiana. Several came on board, together with a number of Canadian traders, who were purchasing furs and skins. The French, living among the *Illinois*, placed themselves under arms, to give a suitable reception to M. LE SUEUR, whom they had formerly known. There were, besides three French missionaries in the village, also

1700. M. BERGIER, the grand vicar from the Bishop of Canada, M. M. BOUTEVILLE and DE ST. CÔME; also two Jesuits, Father PINET* and Father LIMOGES. The Indians chanted the *calumet* with M. LE SUEUR, who, in return, made them considerable presents. We remained seventeen days in this village, where four of our men left us to go to Canada. We took five others in their place, among whom was a person named CHAPOUGAR, who acted as interpreter, as he spoke nearly all the Indian languages.

In front of this village of the *Illinois* is a small island, which conceals the entrance to it. It is only by a small branch of the *Mississippi* that it can be approached. All around and beyond the village is a prairie, and, in the distance, lofty hills, which give a magnificent perspective. After having taken leave of all our acquaintances, we continued our route up the river. Six leagues more brought us to the mouth of the *Missouri*. This river has a very rapid current, especially in the spring of the year, when the waters are high. On passing beyond the islands which it inundates, it roots up the trees and drags them along in its course; it is from this cause that the *Mississippi* is filled with floating trees during the spring floods; it also assumes its color from this river, neither sources of which have ever yet been discovered. The Indians dwelling on the banks of the *Mississippi*, when the waters are low, in the months of August and December, go to the mines. I will not speak of those dwelling

* Father HUGUES PINET went to the *Illinois* as early as 1670, three years before MARQUETTE and JOLIET explored the *Mississippi*, to establish a mission among the *Tamaroas* (*Cahokias*).

on the banks of the *Missouri*, because we have never yet 1700.
ascended it. After having passed its mouth, we continued our
route up the *Mississippi*, and, six leagues above, came to the
grand river of the *Illinois*, on the right hand side, where we
were joined by three Canadian travellers, who brought M. LE
SUEUR a letter from Father MAREST. It is by this river you
go to Canada. Opposite its mouth commences a series of the
most beautiful and most extensive prairies in the world. Con-
tinuing our route ten leagues higher up, we came to *Bœuf River*
(*Buffalo*), to the right and left of which are steep rocks. We
ascended this river half a league, and encamped on its banks.
Four of our men went out on a hunt, and killed a wild buffalo,
about half a league from our encampment. Immediately one of
the hunters came in for assistance to carry the game into camp,
which we did with great pleasure, as we were very hungry,
having had a fatiguing day's journey, with but little to eat.
When it was cooked, we ate a good part of it, at the same time
emptying several bottles of brandy, which greatly invigorated us.

Thirty-five leagues beyond this, we came to a mountain (*La
Montagne qui trempe dans l'eau*), situated nearly in the centre
of the river, though a little inclined to the right side.

Sixty leagues from this, we came to a prairie, looking very
charming, from its beauty and size, at the upper side of which
passes a river, flowing into the *Mississippi*; we called it *Moin-
gona* (*Des Moines*), from the name of an Indian tribe dwelling
upon its banks. One league above the mouth of this river, we
came to a rapid, cut up into cascades. This was seven leagues
in length, and we were obliged to discharge our boats, get into

1700. the water, and push them along with our hands. At the end of those seven leagues, we found the river navigable.

On the left of these rapids are open prairies, extending ten leagues from and along the banks of the *Mississippi*. The grass upon these prairies is like clover, upon which an infinite number of animals brouse. After passing these rapids, we found, on the right and left, mines of lead, which are called, to this day, *Nicholas Perrot*, the name of the person who first discovered them.

Twenty leagues higher up, we found the entrance of a large river, called *Ouisconsin*,* opposite four islands, and quite an elevated mountain, about half a league in length. By this route you go to the *Bay of Foxes*, sixty leagues from the *Mississippi*. This bay is only four leagues from *Lake Michigan*, where the French cross to go to Canada upon their return from the *Sioux*. At the distance of ten leagues above the mouth of the *Ouisconsin* commences a prairie, extending some sixty leagues along the borders of the *Mississippi*. It is called *Winged Prairie* (*Prairie aux Ailes*), and is terminated by high hills, that render the prospect very beautiful. Opposite *Winged Prairie*, to the left, is another facing it, called *Paquitamet*, neither so large or so long. Twenty leagues above this, we came to *Lake Good Relief* (*Bon Secours*), about seven leagues in circumference, and one across, through which the *Mississippi* passes. Its banks, right and left,

* It was by this river that M. LE SUEUR, for the first time, entered the *Mississippi* river, in 1683, to visit the nations of the *Sioux*, among whom he resided for more than seven years. It was also by this river that Father MARQUETTE and the Sieur JOLIET entered the *Mississippi* from the *Bay of Puans* (*Green Bay*), to explore it to its mouth, in 1673.

are bordered by prairies. On the right bank is a fort, built by NICHOLAS PERROT,* and yet known by his name. At the upper part of the lake is *Bald Island* (*l'Isle Pelée*), so called because there is not a tree standing upon it. It is upon this island that the French from Canada established their fort and stores, when they came to trade for furs and other merchandize. They also winter here, because game is abundant in the prairies on both sides of the river. 1700.

Three leagues after leaving *Bald Island*, we reached the *River Sainte Croix* (*Holy Cross*), on the 16th of September, where there is a large cross planted at its mouth, and several leagues from the *Falls of St. Anthony*, which extend two leagues. This rapid, the whole width of the *Mississippi*, has a perpendicular fall of sixty feet, making a noise resembling thunder, which is heard at a considerable distance. At this place, the boats must be carried by land, in order to continue the route up the *Mississippi*, which, upon reflection, we concluded not to do, and

* NICHOLAS PERROT was, says Father CHARLEVOIX, a man of talent, and belonged to a respectable family. At an early period of life he acquired several Indian languages, and, in 1665, was selected, by M. TALON, to accompany Sieur DE ST. LUSSON to the *Falls of St. Mary* as interpreter, in persuading the numerous tribes around the upper lakes to submit to the French Crown. In 1684, he was employed by M. DE LA BARRE in bringing the Western tribes to his assistance against the *Iroquois*; and, subsequently, he performed the like service for M. DE DENONVILLE. For several successive years he was employed as Indian agent. He afterwards built a fort on *Lake Pepin*, and discovered the celebrated lead mines on the river *Des Moines*, in Iowa, which at one time bore his name. He travelled over most of *New France*, and wrote an interesting account of it, still in manuscript, entitled, "*Mœurs, Coutumes, et Religion des Sauvages, dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*," from which, as well as from the "*Annals of Louisiana*," by M. PENICAUT, Father CHARLEVOIX acknowledges that, "*J'ai trouvé dans ces deux MSS. bien des éclaircissements, que j'avois en vain cherché dans les livres imprimés.*" Of M. PENICAUT, he says, "*Il entendoit presque toutes les langues des Sauvages de la Louisiane.*"—CHARLEVOIX.

1700. returned about a quarter of a league below to the mouth of a river on the left hand side, which we named *St. Peter*. We continued our route up this river, and found another river falling into the *St. Peter* from the left, which we entered, and gave it the name of *Green River (Minnesota)*, because the earth, being blended with the copper ore falling into it, produced a green tinge—having now travelled from the *Tamaroas** two hundred and seven leagues. A league higher up this river, M. LE SUEUR determined to build a fort, as it was now the end of September, and ice forming rapidly; the weather had become rough and tempestuous. One half of our men went hunting, while the other half worked at the fort. We killed four hundred buffaloes, which served us as provisions during the winter. We placed them upon scaffolds in the fort, after having skinned and cut them up. We also constructed cabins within the enclosure of the fort, in order to render ourselves more comfortable. We were not unmindful to place our boats under shelter. At the commencement of the erection of the fort, seven French traders, from Canada, came there, who had been robbed of all their merchandize, and stripped of their clothing, by that wandering nation of savages, called the *Sioux*, who live by pillage and rapine. Among this number, there was one who was acquainted with M. LE SUEUR—a Canadian gentleman—whom he at once recognized, and clothed him as he did the rest. They remained with us at the fort during the winter, where we had nothing to eat but buffalo meat, without salt.

* An Indian village, on the banks of the *Mississippi*, where the Jesuits had a missionary establishment, and the French a settlement.

CHAPTER III.



N the third of April, 1701, we set out, 1701.

with twelve miners and four hunters, to work at the copper mine, situated about a league from the fort (*l'Huillier*), and took from it upwards of thirty thousand pounds of ore. We selected from this

mass about four thousand pounds of the purest and most beautiful, which M. LE SUEUR, who was skilled in the knowledge of minerals, had carried into the fort, and transported to France, of which I never heard the final result.*

After working twenty-two days at the mines, we returned to the fort, where the *Siou*x, who had pillaged the Canadians, came to trade with their peltries for our merchandize. They had more than four hundred beaver-robcs, which M. LE SUEUR purchased, as well as many other skins they brought with them.

The cold, in this country, is more rigorous than in Canada. During the winter we passed in our fort, we often heard the

* The mineral region of the north-west was very faithfully explored, at an early period, by eminent French engineers sent from Canada, who made their reports to the French Government.

1701. trees snapping and cracking from the effects of the severe frost, similar to the report of fire-arms. The water in the river was frozen to the bottom, and the snow covered the earth to the depth of five feet on a level. The snow and ice generally melts in the spring, about the month of April, which causes the *Mississippi* to overflow its banks. In the beginning of May, we drew our boats into the water, loaded them with the ore taken from the mine, and the peltries we had procured.

Before taking our departure, M. LE SUEUR held a council with M. D'ERAQUE, the Canadian gentleman of whom I have already spoken, and the three *Sioux* chiefs, who were brothers. He told them he was obliged to go down to the sea, and begged them to maintain peace with M. D'ERAQUE, whom he would have as governor of *Fort l' Huillier*, with a dozen of Frenchmen. He made considerable presents to those three brothers, and persuaded them never to abandon the French. After this, we embarked, with twelve men, whom M. LE SUEUR had selected to accompany him. At parting, he promised those who were left behind to guard the fort, that, so soon as he arrived among the *Illinois*, he would send back provisions and munitions of war; which he did, for he sent back a canoe loaded with two thousand pounds of powder and lead, with three of our men to conduct it. We remained some days among the *Illinois*, to take in provisions necessary for our voyage. In our descent, we stopped at all the villages mentioned heretofore, and landed at the fort, where M. M. DE ST. DENIS and DE BIENVILLE commanded, who informed us that M. D'IBERVILLE had arrived within a short time since.

These gentlemen gave us an account of a voyage they had made up the *Red River* (*Sablonière*), with a detachment of twenty-five men, in search of the Spaniards on the confines of Mexico. Whilst we were at the mines, they had ascended this river, seventy leagues from its entrance into the *Mississippi*, and there met with the nation of the *Natchitoches*, who chanted to them the *calumet* of peace, and, during the three days they remained there, they demanded of the chiefs if they knew where the Spanish settlements could be found. One of them, called the WHITE CHIEF, with ten of his Indians, conducted them to the village of the *Cadodaquioux*,* about one hundred leagues above the *Natchitoches*. When they arrived there, they asked of the *Cadodaquioux*, in what direction they could reach the Spanish settlements; but these Indians replied, that, for some time past, none of them had dwelt in their village, and none had visited it for more than two years past. This information determined M. M. DE ST. DENIS and DE BIENVILLE to return to their fort. The three persons whom M. LE SUEUR had left

1701.

* In the early settlement of Louisiana, the *Caddos*—pronounced by the tribe, *Ca-do-ha-da-cho*, and, by the French, *Cadodaquioux*—were united to several brave and warlike tribes, among whom were the *Natchitoches* and *Assonis*, who lived on the south bank of *Red River*, in a pleasant and fertile country, several hundred miles above the present town of *Natchitoches*. They had a tradition that the world was destroyed by a flood, but the *Great Spirit* placed them on an eminence near a lake, and they alone were saved, and from them descended all the Indians in the South. The whole number of this (*Caddo*) nation is now reduced to less than a hundred families, who still exercise a great influence over the surrounding tribes—the *Yattasees*, *Nabadachies*, *Innies*, *Keychies*, *Adaies*, *Nacogdoches*, and *Nandakoes*, all of whom speak the *Caddo* language, and look up to them as their fathers. Specimens of the *Caddo* and *Witchita* languages are to be found in MARCY'S "Exploration of Red River," GALLATIN'S "Synopsis of the Indian Languages," and in SCHOOLCRAFT'S "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

1701. in charge of the canoe with munitions of war for M. D'ERAQUE, at *Fort l'Huillier*, arrived where we were. They astonished M. LE SUEUR greatly, by the information that the canoe having broken, was totally lost, with everything on board, just opposite the mine of NICHOLAS PERROT. M. M. ST. DENIS and DE BIENVILLE gave orders to load another canoe with munitions of war and provisions, and charged them to hasten back to the fort with all due diligence. As for us, after having discharged our boat and canoes of the peltries for which we had trafficked with the *Sioux*, we descended with M. LE SUEUR in a long-boat, and, in a few days, arrived at the *Fort of Biloxi*, where we found M. D'IBERVILLE, who had returned within a few days, and was yet busily engaged in discharging his ships.

M. D'IBERVILLE having loaded two long-boats with provisions, and taken thirty men and a pilot with him, we went to make the soundings around *Massacre Island (Dauphine)*, upon the report made to him by M. DE SAUVOL, that a good anchorage for ships had been found there, near to which is another small island, and protection sufficient for thirty ships. The pass and all its environs were found to be good. From *Massacre Island*, we sailed to a bay about five leagues wide, and not more than two leagues distant; we entered it, and, at nine leagues distance, found a river, which discharges its waters to the left. Having ascended this river one league, we found another confluent. To the first, we gave the name of *St. Martin*, to the second, *Boutin*. Twelve leagues higher up, we came to a settlement of Indians, called *Mobilians*. They were in no way astonished at seeing us, because they were already acquainted with our estab-

lishment at *Biloxi*. They desired to sing the *calumet* of peace to M. D'IBERVILLE, but he told them he had not time at present to remain. He made them some presents, and, on the morrow, descended the *Mobile River*. He took with him one of their chiefs, to point out to him an elevated piece of ground six leagues below their village, on the right bank of the river, where he desired to construct a fort, to be occupied by the French. We then descended the river to the bay, to return to our fort. Two leagues from *Mobile River*, we came to *Dog River*, one league lower down, to *Deer River*, and, two leagues from the latter, we came to *Chicken River*. We then took a direct course for *Biloxi*, where sickness had begun to be frequent, by reason of the heat of the summer, which caused M. D'IBERVILLE to hasten the construction of the fort at *Mobile*. After this, he set out again for France, accompanied by M. LE SUEUR, the geologist. The ore we brought with us from the mines was placed on board the ships, for the purpose of being assayed in France, but we never afterwards heard what became of it.

After the departure of M. D'IBERVILLE, M. DE BOISBRIANT took with him sixty men, and went to *Mobile* to build the fort, in the place marked out by M. D'IBERVILLE before he sailed. It was, at this time, that M. DE SAUVOL, the commander of the fort at *Biloxi*, fell sick, and died on the 22d of August, 1701. M. DE BIENVILLE, who was at the fort on the *Mississippi* with M. ST. DENIS, on hearing of his death, immediately descended the river to the sea, and took command of the fort. Having observed that the cause of the sickness was, in a great measure, owing to the want of water, he hastened to have all the muni-

1701.

1701. tions of war and merchandize transported to the fort of *Mobile*, where M. DE BOISBRIANT had already made the necessary constructions for their reception and security. M. DE BIENVILLE now went to *Mobile* to perfect the works at the fort, and the residences for the Inhabitants. This fort was three hundred and sixty feet square, with a battery of six pieces of cannon at each of the four corners, each advancing in the centre, in a semi-circle. Within were four buildings, situated about fifteen feet within the curtains, and afterwards appropriated for a chapel, governor's house, and officers' quarters. The barracks for the soldiers were built outside of the fort, one hundred and fifty paces from the fort, on the banks of *Mobile River*.

CHAPTER IV.



N the 18th of March, 1702, M. D'IBER-

1702.

VILLE arrived in Louisiana, and anchored in the roadstead, at *Massacre Island*. He visited, soon after, *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, which he found in excellent

condition. From this place he sent laborers to *Massacre Island*, for the purpose of constructing the magazines destined to receive the merchandize which he had brought with him in the two ships from France, and also barracks for the soldiers, who were to guard the merchandize. He returned a few days after, and changed the name of *Massacre* to *Dauphine Island*,* and the island of *Surgères* to *Ship Island*, because we found there the best shelter for our ships on our arrival in this country. A fort was afterwards built on this island, with barracks for troops. He returned again to *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, where he fitted out several detachments, to send up the river in search of the native chiefs of the surrounding country. We took some of the *Mobilians* as guides, who conducted a portion of our men among the

* In compliment to the eldest son of the King of France.

1702. *Alibamons*, a nation dwelling on the borders of *Carolina*, and the rest to the *Choctaws* and *Chicasaws*, whose habitations are upon the confines of the *Illinois*. On the 25th, the chiefs of those nations, together with those of other tribes dwelling in the vicinity of the *Mobilians*, the *Thomez*, and the *Forks* (*Gens des Fourches*), all came together to our fort, to make a treaty of peace, and chanted the *calumet* of peace to M. DE BIENVILLE, who distributed presents among them, before sending them away. At the same time, he gave them an invitation, through an interpreter, to visit the fort freely, and trade with the French for provisions and merchandize, to which they replied, it would give them pleasure to do so.

In the meantime, M. D'IBERVILLE had sent a gun-boat, laden with provisions and munitions of war, to M. DE ST. DENIS, commanding the fort on the *Mississippi* river. M. D'ERAQUE arrived there from *Fort l'Huillier*, with twelve Frenchmen, and, a few days after, upon the return of the gun-boat, he came to *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, where he found M. D'IBERVILLE, whom he saluted, and reported that M. LE SUEUR, at his departure, left him at the fort, and had promised to send him provisions and ammunition; but, having waited a long time without receiving any news from him, he had been attacked by the nations of the *Mascoutins* and *Foxes*,* who had killed three

* The *Mascoutins*, called, by the *Hurons*, *Assistagueronons*, means the *Fire Nation*. In the earliest accounts of the Jesuits, they are described as the dominant tribe around *Lake Michigan*, and were constantly at war with the *Ottawas*, and other Western tribes. In 1712, a band of them moved eastward, and settled on the *Wabash*, and another on *St. Joseph's River*, and, still later, on *Rock River*. Most every writer, from CHAMPLIN to SCHOOLCRAFT, has described them as a brave and powerful nation.

1702.

of his men, who were at work in the woods a short distance from the fort. These Indians afterwards retired, and, having no powder or shot to defend himself, he thought it most prudent to embark the merchandize remaining on hand, abandon the fort, and descend the river with his men. That he had met with M. JUCHEREAU DE ST. DENIS, of *Montreal*, Canada, with thirty-five men, whom he was conducting to the river *Wabash*, for the purpose of establishing a tannery, who descended with him, as far as the *Illinois*, where he met with the canoe sent by M. DE BIENVILLE, and that it was in this canoe he had arrived at the establishment of M. DE ST. DENIS, on the morning of the arrival of the gun-boat; and, having heard of the arrival of M. D'IBERVILLE, he profited by the occurrence to return in the gun-boat, to offer him his salutations and services. M. D'IBERVILLE gave him a cordial reception, and engaged him to remain at *Mobile*. After this, he went over to visit *Dauphine Island*, and examine the works and stores erected there for the purpose of receiving his merchandize. He also visited the soldiers' barracks.

At the same period the Spaniards built a fort, which they named *Pensacola de Galvez*, twelve leagues from *Dauphine Island*, and, upon the main-land, thirty leagues east of *Mobile*. As we

The *Foxes* (*Outagamis*), who call themselves *Musquekies*, and the French, *Les Renards*, are also described as a brave people, who were constantly at war with other Indian nations. Their history, manners, and customs, have been written by the Jesuit Fathers. A mission was established among them by Father ALLOUEZ, but without success, as they were opposed to Christian doctrine. The *Foxes* spoke the same language as the *Kikkapoes*. See GALLATIN's Synopsis, in Vol. II of "*Archæologia Americana*," KEATING's "*Expedition to St. Peter's River*," Vol. I, pp. 450-9, and "*Reise des Prinzen Maximilien de Wiede*," Vol. II, p. 522, *et seq.*

1702. were at peace with them, and they were upon their own ground, we did not deem it proper to oppose them; but we will see, in the sequel, that this fort was the germ of a contention between us, that lasted two years. Having given all necessary orders, and bade adieu to his officers, M. D'IBERVILLE again took his departure for France in the month of June.

A few days after he had left, M. DE TONTY, governor among the *Illinois*, came to *Mobile* with the Canadian merchants, thinking to find M. D'IBERVILLE there. He saluted M. DE BIENVILLE, our governor, with whom he remained a long time.

About this time, five of our Frenchmen desired permission from M. DE BIENVILLE to go and trade among the *Alibamons*, in order to procure poultry and other provisions, of which we stood in need. They took occasion to set out with ten of that nation who had been trading at the fort, and wished to return home. On the journey, they stopped at a village about five leagues from our fort, where were assembled three different nations, who were engaged in celebrating their feasts; these were the *Mobilians*, the *Thomez*, and the *Naniabas*. They have no temple, but they have a cabin in which they perform their incantations and juggleries, which they designate, in their language, an invocation to their *Great Spirit*.

In the beginning of September, they celebrate a feast, which has a considerable resemblance to that of the ancient Lacedemonians. Upon that day, they whip their children until their backs are covered with blood. The whole village then assembled in their public square. All the children, male and female, are compelled to be present, even those of the most tender age;

1702.

and, if the child is sick and unable to be present, the mother is whipped in its stead. When this ceremony is concluded, they dance all night. The chiefs and old men then deliver an exhortation to those whipped, telling them, that this is done to teach them how to support and sustain the misfortunes which may happen to them, should they fall into the hands of their enemies, and to learn them to become good warriors, and to utter no cry, nor even shed a tear when in the midst of the fire into which they may be cast.

Our five Frenchmen, after having witnessed this feast, pursued their route with the ten *Alibamons* until they had approached within ten leagues of their village. The Indians requested the French to remain there until they had notified their chief, and that they would return on the morrow. But, whilst they remained there, the savages came stealthily during the night, seized their arms, and killed four of them. The fifth escaped, threw himself into the river, and, while swimming, he was wounded in the shoulder by the blow of a hatchet. After some days he reached the fort, having bound up his wound with the gum exuding from the pine trees. It was this circumstance that gave rise to the war between us and the *Alibamons*, which continued seven years.

M. DE BIENVILLE immediately notified the neighboring nations, the *Mobilians*, the *Thomez*, the tribes of the *Forks*, the *Choctaws*, and others, of this treacherous affair, who came to join us to the number of eighteen hundred warriors. On our side, we had seventy Frenchmen fit to bear arms. Our officers were M. M. DE BIENVILLE, ST. DENIS, and DE TONTY, an

1702. ancient captain from Canada. The *Mobilians* served us as guides. It was in the beginning of September that we all set out together on the march against the *Alibamons*, but the greater portion of the Indians deserted us at the end of four or five days. They were the friends and allies of the *Alibamons*,* against whom they were leading us to war.

M. DE BIENVILLE, on seeing the desertion of the Indians, returned to our fort, and ordered the construction of ten canoes, which, as soon as completed, we received orders to embark in them, both officers and men, placing himself at the head of the expedition. We took our departure, secretly, at night, in order to conceal our numbers from the Indians. At the end of a few days' journey, we arrived ten leagues from the village of the *Alibamons*, near the spot where our four Frenchmen had been killed. We saw their fires upon the river, and, at about double musket-shot distance from this fire, were fourteen canoes, manned by the *Alibamons*, who were out hunting with their families. Towards evening, we ascended the river, and landed on the opposite side. When their fires were extinguished, and they were asleep, M. DE BIENVILLE made us advance into the woods by a very bad road, keeping up a steady fire. But we could not see where to direct our aim. I do not know that we killed any of them. We remained masters of their cabins until day-break, when we set fire to them, after taking whatever merchandize we found there, which, together with their canoes, we

* MITHRIDATES, Vol. III, pp. 292-305; BALBI's "Atlas Ethnographique," Tab. 41, No. 789. The *Mobilians* occupied the territory near the mouth of *Mobile River*, and north of the *Apalachians*. DE SOTO found them a formidable enemy.

brought to our fort at *Mobile*, where, upon our return, we found a chief of the *Chickasaws*, who was waiting for M. DE BIENVILLE, to obtain from him a French lad, whom he desired to take with him to his village, to instruct in the language of his nation. M. DE BIENVILLE gave him little ST. MICHEL, aged fourteen years, a son of M. ST. MICHEL, captain of the port of *Rochefort*. He took this boy with him to the nation, together with the presents made to him. 1702.

A short time after the return of M. ST. DENIS to the fort established on the *Mississippi*, he sent word to M. DE BIENVILLE that the *Bayagoulas* had been defeated in battle by the *Tensas*, who had burned their villages, and that such of the *Bayagoulas* as had escaped the disaster, had taken refuge near his fort, where he had given them a place for the purpose of erecting their cabins.

CHAPTER V.

1703.



IN January, 1703, M. JUCHEREAU DE ST. DENIS* transmitted a letter to his cousin, M. DE BIENVILLE, in which he informed him, that M. DE ST. CÔME, a missionary priest, on his way from Canada, with three Frenchmen, had stopped at *Natchez* to visit that establishment, and, in descending the river, they landed for the night; and, whilst encamped, were attacked by a party of eighty *Chetimachas* Indians, who had come to the *Bayagoulas* village to make war upon them, but, becoming enraged at not finding them, they fell upon M. DE ST. CÔME and his three companions whilst

* M. JUCHEREAU DE ST. DENIS, a native of Canada, was the uncle of Madame D'IBERVILLE, and came to Louisiana in the frigate *Rénomée* commanded by M. D'IBERVILLE in the beginning of the year 1700. He passed several years in making expeditions up and down the *Mississippi*, and very quickly acquired a general knowledge of several Indian languages, so as to be acknowledged their grand chief; and, being a gentleman of education, courage, and prudence, he was employed in several expeditions to Mexico, and in making with that government a treaty of commerce. He afterwards returned to Louisiana, and was employed by M. DE BIENVILLE in conducting several expeditions against the Indians. He returned to *Mobile* in 1719, and conducted an expedition against *Pensacola*, for which he was knighted. On the retirement of M. DE BIENVILLE to France, in 1726, M. DE ST. DENIS returned to *Montreal* (Canada), where he died.

they were asleep, and assassinated them, and, that a small slave, 1703. who was with them, had escaped, and given him information of the event. M. DE ST. DENIS added, that the death of those Frenchmen must be avenged.

In reply, M. DE BIENVILLE ordered him to come immediately to *Mobile*, and hold a council of war upon the subject. It was also resolved to notify the neighboring nations, the *Oumas*, *Chaouachas*,* and *Bayagoulas*, who were living around the French settlement on the *Mississippi*, to meet M. DE ST. DENIS. A few days after, he assembled two hundred Indian warriors, to whom he added ten Frenchmen, and twenty canoes, with provisions and ammunition. This party went up the *Mississippi* to the entrance of the *Chetimachas River* (*Bayou Lafourche*), and, during the night, arrived within three leagues of their village. The *Chaouachas*, who acted as guides, and were well acquainted with the country, made us keep concealed in this place during the day; and, when night approached, he sent two Indians and a Frenchman to reconnoitre their village. They returned to camp about midnight, and reported they had discovered it upon the borders of a lake, filled with *Chetimachas*, who had collected there, for the purpose of fishing. We took up our march in silence, and, arriving near their cabins, laid down flat on our faces until day-break. At daylight, we gave the war-whoop (*le cri de mort*), which greatly astonished them, who, in endeavoring to find out the cause of their alarm, was fired upon by us, and

* The *Chaouachas* (*Tchaouachas*) and *Ouachas* lived on the west side of the *Mississippi*, below the *English Turn*; and the *Baya-Ogoulas* above the fork, on the west side, twenty-five leagues above *New Orleans*.

1703. fifteen of their number killed. We also captured about forty prisoners, men, women, and children. Among the prisoners was one we recognized as one of the murderers of M. DE ST. CÔME and his companions, whom we ironed, and brought to *Mobile*. M. DE BIENVILLE ordered him to be placed upon a wooden horse, and his brains beaten out with clubs. His scalp was cut off, and his body thrown into the river. He afterwards sent notice to all the nations who were in alliance with us, to make war upon the *Chetimachas*. Twenty chiefs of the *Chickasaw* (*Tchikahas*) nation came to the fort to confer with M. DE BIENVILLE upon making peace with the *Choctaws* (*Tchactas*), with whom they had been for a long time at war. They were obliged to make a wide circuit to the fort, so as to avoid meeting the *Choctaws*. M. DE BIENVILLE consented to mediate for them, and sent M. DE BOISBRIANT, with twenty-five men as a guard, to the *Choctaw* nation, who, after a few days consideration, agreed to make peace, and, at the same time, promised to become the friends of the French. Escorted by the *Choctaws*, M. DE BOISBRIANT returned to *Mobile*, satisfied that he had secured the friendship of one of the most powerful Indian nations of the South.* About the same time, M. DE

* The *Chickasaws* and *Choctaws*, according to tradition, were driven out of Mexico, and finally settled in the wilderness east of the *Mississippi* river. The *Chickasaws* claimed all of the territory within the present States of Tennessee and Kentucky, and were among the most cruel and haughty among the Southern Indians. They exercised an unwonted influence over the *Choctaws*, *Natchez*, and other tribes. They numbered about forty villages, and were the constant terror of the French *voyageurs* upon the *Tennessee* and *Mississippi* rivers. They defeated HERNANDO DE SOTO, D'ARTAGUETTE, and DE BIENVILLE, in several pitched battles.

The *Choctaws*, at the time the French visited Louisiana, were still a powerful

BIENVILLE sent messengers to the river *Madeline* (*Bayou Teche*), 1703. to find out what nations inhabited that part of Louisiana. They returned, and reported they had found seven different nations, among whom was one called the *Attakapas*, or man-eaters. On the 22d of February, M. DE BECQUANCOURT arrived from *Vera Cruz* with provisions, and reported that M. D'ALBUQUERQUE, Viceroy of Mexico, had received orders from the King of Spain to permit the French to enter his ports to purchase provisions. On the 15th of August, the Chevalier DE PERROT arrived at *Mobile*, with provisions for the garrison, and seventeen passengers, among whom was M. DE CHATEAUGUAY, the brother of M. DE BIENVILLE. On the 22d of December, M. DE BIENVILLE set out from *Fort Louis de la Mobile* with several hundred men and Indians, to punish the *Alibamons*, who had murdered three Frenchmen.

nation, numbering, probably, fifteen or twenty thousand warriors. They successively exterminated the *Chochumas*, *Yasous*, *Tunicas*, and several smaller tribes. They had some idea of a supreme being, but the French missionaries never succeeded in converting them to Christianity. These once powerful and warlike nations have now almost disappeared from Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, having sold out their extensive territories, and emigrated to the Indian territory west of the *Arkansas*, where they are rapidly advancing in the arts of civilization. The *Choctaws*, west of *Arkansas*, now number (1868) about sixteen thousand, and the *Chickasaws* about six thousand, men. They have a republican constitution, a legislature, a judicial system, school-houses and churches, and have already produced great orators. There is a close affinity between the *Chickasaws* and *Choctaws* in their physical appearance, their language, traditions, and laws.

The Rev. CYRUS BYINGTON wrote, some years ago, a grammar of the *Choctaw* language; B. SMITH BARTON, a comparative vocabulary of the *Chickasaw*, *Conchac*, and *Mobilian* languages; A. GALLATIN, a synopsis of fifty-three Indian languages, published in the second volume of "Archæologia Americana;" A. WRIGHT, a *Choctaw* vocabulary; and B. HAWKINS, a vocabulary of the *Chickasaw*, *Creek*, *Cherokee*, and *Choctaw* languages, now in manuscript, and deposited in the library of the American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*.

1703.

At the expiration of ten days, we set out on our journey to the *Oumas* (*Houmas*), thirty leagues from *Baton Rouge*, where we met with a welcome reception; and, from the *Oumas* we paid a visit to the *Natchez*, one of the most polite and affable nations on the *Mississippi*. We reached there in three days from the *Oumas*, and were received with every possible manifestation of friendship and pleasure. Both the young and old made it an occasion for feasting and dancing.

The *Natchez* inhabit one of the most beautiful countries in Louisiana. It lies about a league back from the banks of the *Mississippi*, and is embellished with magnificent natural scenery, traversed with hills, covered with a splendid growth of odoriferous trees and plants, and watered with cool and limpid streams. After irrigating the plains, they unite in two branches, which encircle the villages,* and, finally, form a small river (*St. Catherine*), which flows over a gravelly bottom; and, after meandering two leagues through a beautiful and undulating country, falls into the *Mississippi*. One of the French missionaries, Father FRANCOIS JOLIET DE MONTIGNY, visited the *Natchez*, to teach them the Catholic religion; but, being unable to make any converts, he afterwards returned to *Quebec*.

All the pleasures of refined society are observed by the great nobles. They have none of the rude manners of the surrounding nations, and possess all the comforts of life. This nation is composed of thirty villages, but the one we visited was the

* *Terre Blanche*, or the great white apple village, was situated about one league from the banks of the *Mississippi*, on what is called *Second Creek*, and where the *Great Chief*, beneath bowers rivalling those of Arcadia, held his councils with the surrounding nations, and built a fort, defended by parapets and ditches.

largest, because it contained the dwelling of the *Great Chief*, 1703.
 whom they called the *Sun*, which means noble. The men and women are well made, and appropriately clothed. The women—among whom are many very beautiful—dress in white linen robes, which extend from their shoulders to their ankles, similar in make to the *Adrienne*, worn by French ladies. They manufacture it from a species of plant,* and from the inner bark of the young mulberry tree, after the following manner: They place the bark in water, and let it soak during the space of eight days, after which they dry it well in the sun, and then beat it until it is reduced to flax; they afterwards wash it three or four times in lye-water, until it becomes perfectly white. Finally, it is spun and wove ingeniously into cloth, and manufactured into clothing.

The men clothe themselves in deer-skins, from which they make a kind of skirt, or jacket, descending to their knees, and from thence to their ankles; they wear leggings. Their language is softer and better modulated than their neighbors. The dress of the girls is different from that of the women, for they are only clad with a species of skirt, fastened around the waist, after the manner of our French women, who only wear petticoats. The skirts worn by the girls are sewed with fine, white

* Probably the *acnida cannabina* (wild hemp), or the *linum virginianum* (wild flax), which grow luxuriantly in Mississippi, from which they spun their thread. They wove sashes, belts, garters, and shot-pouches, decorated with beautiful stripes and checker-work. Some of their manufactures were made in large pieces, on which they would ingeniously paint, or interweave, figures of birds, animals, and plants, and ornament the borders with the feathers of the paroquets and flamingoes, showing their descent from the Mexican (*Aztec*) race.

1704. thread, and only cover their nakedness from their waist down to their knees. They are fastened with two strings, with tassels at the end of each. The front is ornamented with fringe. This garment is worn by the girls until the period of nubility, when they assume the women's garment. They are very courteous and obliging, and fond of the French. It was really charming to us to behold them dancing at their feasts, arrayed in their beautiful and highly ornamented skirts, and the women in their neat, white robes. Their heads are enveloped in long, black hair, which fall gracefully around to their waists, and, in many instances, down to their ankles.

Their dances are very graceful. The men dance with the women, and the girls with the boys. The quadrilles are always composed of twenty or thirty persons, with an equal number of boys and girls. It is not permitted to a married man to dance with a girl, nor a boy with a married woman. After having lighted two large torches, cut from some old pine tree, one is placed near the cabin of the chief, and the other on the opposite side of the great square, when, towards sun-down, the master of ceremonies enters, followed by thirty couple, in regular order, who commence the dance at the tap of the drum, and the sound of the voices of the spectators. Each dances, in turn, until midnight, when the married men and women retire, and give place to the young people, who keep up the dance until morning. This dance has a considerable resemblance to our French cotillion, with this difference, that, when a youth has danced with the girl at his side, he is permitted to conduct her without the village, into one of the groves on the prairie, where he

whispers sweet tales of love, till each grow wearied, they then return to the village, and continue dancing until daylight. 1704.

When an agreement is entered into between two young people, they go together into the woods, and, while the young man is hunting, the young woman constructs a cabin from the boughs and limbs of trees and foliage, and kindles a fire close by. If the young man has killed, in the chase, a buffalo, or deer, he brings one quarter to the cabin, and afterward they live together for the remainder of life. They roast a piece, which they eat for supper, and, upon the morrow, carry the rest to the house of the girl's father and mother in the village, notifying them of their intention, and, at the same time, dividing with them their game. After they dine together, the husband takes his wife to his own cabin, and, from that time, she is prohibited from mingling in the dance with the boys and girls, or having intercourse with any other than her husband. She is obliged to work within doors, and her husband may repudiate her if he thinks her unfaithful, unless she has presented him with a child.

The *Great Chief* orders the feasts, which usually continue eight or ten days. They generally take place when the chief is in want of any provisions, or merchandize, such as flour, bacon, beans, and other things, which are brought and placed at the door of his cabin, upon the last day of the feast. He has jurisdiction over all the villages, and sends his orders to them by two messengers, whom he calls *Ouchil-tichou*. The house of the *Great Chief* is of great extent, and can hold as many as four thousand persons, over whom his power is as absolute as a king. The people are not allowed to approach

1704. him too closely, and must not address him nearer than four paces. His bed is on the right side of his cabin, composed of mats of very fine canes, across which is placed a bolster of feathers. The skins of deer are used for covering it in summer, and those of the bear and buffalo in winter. His wife is the only person who has the right to eat and sleep with him.

When he arises from his bed, his relatives approach, and, with uplifted arms, utter frightful cries; but he does not even deign to notice them. The *Great Chief* of a noble family can only marry with a woman of plebeian race; but the children born of this union, whether boys or girls, are noble.

It happened, during our visit, that the *Great Female Sun* died, and we were witnesses of her funeral obsequies, which were of the most tragical character that can be imagined. She was the *Great Sun* in her own right, and, being dead, her husband, who was not of the noble family, was strangled by her eldest son, so that he might bear her company to the great village whither she had gone. On the outside of the cabin, where she died, they placed all her effects, on a sort of bier, or triumphal car, upon which was placed her body, as well as that of her husband. Afterwards, they brought and placed twelve small children on it, whom they had strangled. These children were brought by their fathers and mothers, by the order of the eldest son of the *Great Female Sun*, who had the right, as her successor, and, as *Great Chief*, to put to death as many persons as he pleased, to honor the funeral of his mother. Fourteen other scaffolds were afterwards erected, and decorated with branches of trees, and paintings upon pieces of linen. On each scaffold they placed

one of those they had strangled, to accompany the deceased to the other world, and these were surrounded by their relatives, dressed in fine, white robes. They then formed a procession, and marched to the great square in front of the *Great Temple*, and commenced to dance. At the end of four days, they began the ceremony of the march of death. The fathers and mothers of the strangled children holding them up in their arms. The eldest of these unfortunate children did not appear to be over three years of age. The fourteen other victims destined to be strangled, were also marched in front of the *Great Temple*. 1704.

The chiefs and relatives of those who were strangled, with their hair cut off, began their frightful howlings, while those who were destined to die, kept on dancing and marching around the cabin of the deceased, two by two, until it was set on fire. The fathers, who carried their strangled children in their arms, marched four paces apart from each other, and, at the distance of about ten paces, threw them upon the ground before the *Great Temple*, and commenced dancing around them. When they deposited the body of the *Great Female Sun* in the temple, the fourteen victims, who stood before the door of the temple, were undressed, and, while seated on the ground, a cord, with a noose, was passed around the necks of each, and a deer-skin thrown over their heads. The relatives of the deceased then stood to the right and left of each victim, taking hold of the ends of the cord around their necks, and, at a given signal, they pulled it until their victim was dead.* The bones of the

* This custom of putting persons to death at the funeral of the *Great Sun*, or *Chief*, is described by the historian of DE SOTO's expedition in Florida.

1704. victims who had been strangled were afterwards deprived of their flesh, and, when dried, were put into baskets, and placed in the temple, considering it an honor and special privilege to have been sacrificed, and placed there with the *Great Female Sun*. This barbarous custom of sacrificing their children to the *Suns* was kept up, in spite of the efforts of the French missionaries to put a stop to it, except that they afterwards obtained their consent to have them baptized before they were strangled.

The female posterity of the *Suns* always enjoy the privileges of their rank. The male and female of the *Suns* (nobility) never intermarry. Their nobility is different from that in Europe; for, with us, in France, the more ancient it is, the more respect it commands; but here it ceases at the seventh generation. They make it hereditary only in the female line. Their form of government is despotic. The whole nation is divided into nobles and common people, called *stinkards* (*miché-miché quipy*). They each have a language peculiar to themselves—that of the nobles being much purer and more copious.* The *Great Sun* is absolute master of the lives and property of the whole nation. The houses of the *Suns* are built upon mounds, and are distinguished from each other by their size. The mound upon which the house of the *Great Chief*, or *Sun*, is built, is larger than the rest, and the sides of it steeper.†

* There is no vocabulary of this remarkable people in existence, and not more than a dozen words have been noted by European visitors in their accounts of them.

† The Portuguese GENTLEMAN OF ELVAS, who wrote the history of the expedition of DE SOTO in Florida, describes the houses of the chiefs, likewise built upon mounds of different heights, according to their rank, with porticoes to their doors, and their villages fortified with palisades, or walls of earth, with gateways to go in and out. See First Series of the "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. II, pp. 113-220.

The temple in the village of the *Great Sun* is about thirty 1704.
feet high, and forty-eight in circumference, with the walls
eight feet thick, and covered with a matting of canes, in which
they keep up a perpetual fire. The wood used is of oak, or
hickory, stripped of its bark, and eight feet in length. Guards are
appointed, alternately, to watch the temple, and keep up the
sacred fire; and if, by accident, the fire should go out, they
break the heads of the guards with the wooden clubs they keep in
the temple. At each new moon, an offering of bread and flour
is made, which is for the use of those who guard it. Every
morning and evening, the *Great Sun* and his wife enter it, to
worship their idols of wood and stone.

The time allowed us by M. DE BIENVILLE to return to the
fort having now expired, we thanked the *Natchez* for their kind
treatment, and bade them farewell. They filled our canoes with
an abundance of provisions for our voyage down the river, and
begged us to return again as soon as we could. The first day
after our departure from their beautiful country, we encamped at
Baton Rouge. We stopped, occasionally, to pay visits to the
nations, and reached the fort in the beginning of May, where we
found the ship *Pelican*, of fifty guns, commanded by M. DU-
COUDRAY DE GUIMONT, with provisions for the colony, which
had arrived some days before from France. He also brought
M. DE LA VENTE, a missionary, four priests, two grey nuns,
and twenty-three girls, the first that had come to Louisiana.
They were very modest and virtuous, and soon found husbands.
They were under the care of a priest, named Father HUET, who
remained in Louisiana to instruct the Indians in the Catholic

1704. faith. A great deal of sickness prevailed during the summer in the colony, and M. DUCOUDRAY having lost a number of his men, was compelled to select thirty men from the colonists to navigate his ship back to France, with dispatches for the French Government.

On the 27th of October, 1704, a sailing boat arrived from *Pensacola*, with news from the Spaniards, that a great fire had destroyed part of the town, with a request that M. DE BIENVILLE would send a vessel to *Vera Cruz*, to inform the Viceroy of it. On the 11th of December, a French brig arrived at *Mobile*, with dispatches from *Havana*, informing M. DE BIENVILLE that an English armament was fitting out in *Carolina* to attack *Mobile*, and the settlement on the *Mississippi*. About the same time, a deputation arrived from the *Tonica* (*Tunica*) nation, to solicit M. DE BIENVILLE to intercede with Father DAVION, the missionary, to return to their village, which he had left on account of the death of Father FOUCAULT, who was massacred by the *Coroas*, a savage and cruel tribe, that lived near the *Yasous*. A few days after, M. DE BIENVILLE wrote to M. DE ST. DENIS to abandon the fort on the *Mississippi*, and send all the munitions of war and merchandize to the fort at *Mobile*.

CHAPTER VI.



ON the 21st of January, 1705, M. DE 1705.

CHATEAUGUÉ set sail, with dispatches to *Vera Crux*, for the Viceroy of Mexico; and, on the 1st of February, a messenger arrived at the fort, to inform M. DE BIENVILLE that the *Chickasaws*

had sold to the English, in slavery,* several *Choctaw* families, who had come to visit them; and that this treachery had caused a rupture between the two nations.

On the 19th of October, a ship arrived from *Havana*, and reported that M. D'IBERVILLE had sailed from France, to make an attack on Jamaica, and subsequently sailed from one of the West India Islands, to make an attack on *Charleston*, in Carolina, and had died at sea of yellow fever. This melancholy news fell like a dark cloud over the colony, and destroyed, for awhile, all their hopes of receiving any further assistance from France, until a treaty of peace should be negotiated in Europe.

* The English traders of *Carolina* had not only carried on a traffic in Indians with the Southern tribes, for a number of years, to work their plantations, but had also imported slaves from Africa.

1706. On the 7th of January, 1706, Don Senor GUZMAN, Governor of *Pensacola*, came to pay a visit to M. DE BIENVILLE at the fort, where he remained four days, during which time he was feasted by the French; and, on his return to *Pensacola*, he ordered his aid-de-camp to distribute among the soldiers of the garrison a thousand dollars in presents, and requested M. DE BIENVILLE, as a favor, to set at liberty all the prisoners. About the same time, M. BERGIER, Grand Vicar of *Quebec*, arrived, and reported that M. ST. CÔME, missionary, had been killed by the *Chetimachas*. In the beginning of March, the *Pascagoulas* declared war against the *Ouachas*, and, shortly after, all the Indian tribes assembled at the fort to make war upon the *Chetimachas* for their cruelty and treachery.

1707. In February, 1707, M. DE NOYANT, uncle of M. DE BIENVILLE, and commander of the frigate *Eagle*, arrived at *Mobile*, with dispatches, and also provisions for the garrison. This arrival was very timely, as every one had been living on the products of their hunting. He also brought with him two priests, M. DE LA VENTE and M. DE LA CHAISE, ancient Vicar of *St. Jacques de la Boncherie*, of *Paris*, and also a number of families for the concessions. On the 24th of November, M. DE BIENVILLE received news that *Pensacola* was invested by the English and Indians. He immediately set out with one hundred troops and four hundred Indians for *Pensacola*, and arrived there on the 8th of December; he found the siege raised, and the English and Indians had retreated. He returned to *Mobile* on the 19th, and gave permission to several families to reside on *Dauphine Island*, where they built residences, and cultivated garden vege-

tables, which was a great convenience to ships arriving here from France. 1707.

On the 25th of February, 1708, M. DE BIENVILLE received dispatches from France, stating that he was superseded by M. DE MUYS, as Governor, and that M. DIRON D'ARTAGUETTE had been appointed Intendant Commissary of the colony, to succeed M. DE LA SALLE; but, this news had hardly reached him, when he heard of the death of M. DE MUYS, who had died in *Havana*, on his voyage to Louisiana.* On the arrival of M. D'ARTAGUETTE at *Mobile*, in the *Rénommée*, he reviewed the soldiers and officers of the garrison, and asked them if they were satisfied with the country, to which they replied they were highly pleased with it, and assured him the soil and climate was admirably adapted to agriculture, but that there were not enough of horses in the colony to work the plantations, when M. D'ARTAGUETTE promised to order more to be sent from France. This vessel sailed again early in April. Afterwards, M. M. DE BIENVILLE and D'ARTAGUETTE took with them sixteen men in a long-boat, to visit *Lake Pontchartrain* and the *Mississippi*. They stopped at *Biloxi* to visit M. DE ST. DENIS, who gave them a cordial reception. They afterwards proceeded to the *Mississippi* river, which they ascended, as far as the *Cannes Bruslés* (*Burnt Canes*), to visit the concession made to the Marquis D'ARTAGUETTE. They found the borders of the 1708.

* At this dark period of the colony, it consisted of only fourteen officers, of different grades, seventy-six soldiers, thirteen sailors, three priests, six mechanics, one Indian interpreter, twenty-four laborers, twenty-eight women, twenty-five children, and eighty Indian slaves; the rest had been cut off by yellow fever.

1708. river very agreeable, and made frequent landings, for the purpose of exploring the country. They also found the soil everywhere good, and extremely fertile. Having arrived at a place called *le Pointe aux Chênes* (*Live-Oak Point*), they made a great hunt for deer and ducks. On their return to *Mobile*, they were informed that the Canadian French, living among the *Illinois*, at *Cascaskias*, were exciting them to war against the neighboring tribes, and had made several prisoners, whom they sold to the English. Upon this information, M. M. D'ARTAGUETTE and DE BIENVILLE dispatched M. D'ERAQUE, and six men in a canoe, with letters to the Jesuit fathers, and presents to the Indian tribes, whom they advised to make peace among themselves. When M. D'ERAQUE had delivered his letters, he gave orders to the Canadians to cease their hostilities against the Indians, and not to excite them against each other. He afterwards addressed the Indians, and advised them to live in harmony with each other, at the same time making them presents. He then ascended the river as far up as the village of the *Illinoise-Couquias* (*Cabokias*), to whom he also made presents, recommending peace, and, at the same time, forbid the French settlers to go among them. He then returned among the Jesuits and foreign missionaries, and informed them of the intention of M. M. DE BIENVILLE and D'ARTAGUETTE to visit them with the severest chastisement should the like occur again. From this place, he went up the *Missouri River*, and exhorted the nations dwelling upon its banks to abstain from war, and, after distributing the usual presents among them, he returned to *Mobile*.

About this time, two *Mobilians*, who had married in the *Ali-*

bamon nation, and who lived among them with their families, 1708. discovered that that nation was inimical to the *Mobilians*, as well as the French, and had made a league with the *Cheraquis* (*Cherokees*),* the *Abeikas*, and the *Conchaques*, to wage war against the French and *Mobilians*, and burn their villages around our fort. On receiving this information, M. M. DE BIENVILLE and D'ARTAGUETTE immediately set out at the head of a strong detachment, to attack them. They marched four days without seeing them, and, falling short of provisions, returned to the fort. Six weeks later, when our vigilance had considerably

* In the early settlement of Louisiana, the *Cherokees*, then a powerful nation, lived to the south and west of the *Tennessee*, called by them the *Cherokee River*, and extending from the head branches of the *Tombigby* to above the *Hirvassee*, east and south of the *Estunary*, and were divided into *Ottare* (*Mountain Cherokee*), and *Ayrate* (*Cherokees of the Valley*). They were the neighbors of the *Abeikas* and *Conchaques*.

The native land of the *Cherokee* was the most inviting and beautiful section of the United States, in regard to climate and productions. In the map of DE LISLE, 1712, appended to the second volume, First Series, "Historical Collections of Louisiana," the *Tennessee River* is called the *Cheraquis*. In like manner, the name of this nation also designated the mountains near them. The *Currahee* is only a corruption of *Cherokee*, and, in the maps and treaties where it is thus called, it means the mountains of the *Cherokees*. Of the martial spirit of this nation, there is abundant evidence to be found in the early history of the United States. They were constantly at war with the frontier tribes, and with the French and English, who were all the time encroaching upon their territory. But, since their removal to the Indian territory west of the *Arkansas*, they are becoming more peaceful and civilized, and have made considerable progress in literature and the useful arts. They have invented an alphabet, and print papers and books. They have schools and colleges, and a constitutional government, laws, and courts. They raise wheat, corn, cotton, and indigo, and manufacture cotton and woolen goods. They have large stocks of horses, mules, black cattle, swine, and sheep, which they carry on a considerable trade with the adjoining States. A great part of the nation have adopted our mode of dress. The progress of their children in their schools and colleges has been as great as any other children—acquiring the knowledge of letters, arts, and sciences. Nature has given them the finest forms, and no man, who has had public business with them, can have a doubt of the high

1708. slackened, the *Alibamons* fell suddenly upon the village of the *Mobilians*, whom they did not altogether surprise, as M. M. DE BIENVILLE and D'ARTAGUETTE had recommended them to keep advanced guards some leagues distant from their village. The result of this precaution was, that when they approached with their allies, to the number of four thousand warriors, they only effected the destruction of a few cabins, about six leagues from us, and then retraced their steps in great haste.

order of their intellect. It only requires the care of government to elevate them to a high standard of civilization, and protect them in their rights and property, out of which they have been, in the last two centuries, most shamefully swindled.

The *Cherokees* universally believe in the being of a God. They also believe in a future state of reward and punishment. They call God the *Great Spirit*, and worship him with great reverence. They have no words in their language that they can combine to profane his holy name. The present (1868) population, west of *Arkansas River*, is about twenty thousand (20,000), and remnants, still residing in Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama, three thousand (3,000). The library of the American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*, contain the following MSS. and books of their language, viz.: Vocabularies, by Judge CAMPBELL and B. HAWKINS; *Cherokee* numerals, by W. BUTLER; specimens of the *Cherokee* newspapers (the "Messenger" and "Advocate"); school-books and Bibles; a grammar, by JOHN PICKERING; GALLATIN's Synopsis, in Vol. II of "*Archæologia Americana*;" "Mithridates," Vol. III, Part III, pp. 292-305; WORCESTER's and PICKERING's remarks on the principles of the *Cherokee* language; besides a great number of public documents, selections from the Scriptures, hymns, and other pieces, in the *Cherokee* language.

CHAPTER VII.



EARLY in the spring of 1709, *Fort Louis* 1709.

de la Mobile,* and all the houses of the inhabitants in the vicinity, were inundated by a rise of the river, and none escaped, except those that stood upon

high ground. M. DE BIENVILLE happened to be at the fort at this time, and, seeing this might frequently occur, resolved to move the fort nearer the sea. He, accordingly, selected a place where the nation of the *Chatots*† were residing, and gave them, in exchange for it, a piece of territory fronting on *Dog River*,

* This fort was built by the French, about twelve leagues above the present city of *Mobile*, on the west bank of the river, in 1702, and was, for a long time, the chief settlement of the colony. It formed a good barrier, and served to protect the colony from the attacks of the *Choctaws*, *Chickasaws*, and other Indian nations in *Carolina*. The French also built a fort (*Toulouse*), eighty leagues higher up, on the *Tombée* (*Tombigby*) *River*, which served, also, to protect them from the incursions of the *Cherokees*, *Creeks*, and other Indian nations.

† The *Chatot* and *Thomé* tribes were allied to the *Choctaws*, and spoke the French as well as the *Choctaw* languages. They lived south of *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, and were instructed in the Roman Catholic faith. The French, in Louisiana, used the *Choctaw* (*Tchactas*) language for their communication with other Indian tribes. See BAUDRY DES LOZIERE'S "*Voyage a la Louisiane*," 1794, and LUIGI CASTIGLIONI'S "*Viaggio negli Stati Uniti del l'America*," etc., 1790.

1709. two leagues further down. He, afterwards, directed M. PAILLOUX, aid-major, and several other officers, to proceed to mark out a place for a new fort and barracks, with ground sufficient for each family, to whom he gave lots of seventy-two feet front by one hundred and fifty feet in depth. He also gave the priests a square of ground for a Catholic church. Shortly after, M. DE LA VIGNE VOISIN, commander of a French frigate, arrived from *St. Malo*, and anchored off *Dauphine Island*. He came to *Mobile* to ask M. DE BIENVILLE's permission to build a fort and church on *Dauphine Island*, which was granted; and, on his return to his ship, he commenced immediately to construct a fort, with embrasures, which he mounted with cannon. He also erected a church on a hill overlooking the harbor, so that the crews of vessels arriving there could attend mass. These improvements had a most useful effect, in causing many of the colonists to cross over from the main-land to settle on the island; and, about this time, the *Oumas* also removed their chief village to the banks of the *Mississippi* river. The works of the new fort,* in the meantime, progressed rapidly.

1710. The scarcity of provisions had become so great, that M. DE BIENVILLE, who had acted in the capacity of governor since the death of M. DE MUYS, informed the minister that he was compelled to scatter his men among the Indians for subsistence.

* This fort was afterwards called *Condé*. It was reconstructed with brick, after the manner of *Vauban*, with bastions, half-moons, deep ditches, covered way, and glacis, with houses for the officers, and barracks for the soldiers, and was mounted with sixteen cannon. The remains of this fort, which have now been removed, were, for many years, an object of great interest to the antiquarian who would sometimes visit its ruins, as well as those of *Biloxi*, *Dauphine*, and *Ship* islands.

1710.

The new fort and barracks being now partly finished, M. DE BIENVILLE ordered all the ammunition, cannon, and merchandize, to be sent to it, which had hardly been done when the frigate *Rénommée*, commanded by M. DE RÉMONVILLE,* arrived at *Dauphine Island*, with reinforcements and provisions for the colony. M. BLONDEL, lieutenant of infantry, was ordered to go, with thirty soldiers, to live among the *Choctaws*; and, M. DE WALIGNY, with twenty-five men, accompanied by eighteen *Apalache* Indians, to reside on *Mobile Bay*, near *Fish River*. This nation (the *Apalache*), professed to be Roman Catholics, and had been living in Spanish territory. Their village having been destroyed by the *Alibamons*, they came to establish themselves among the *Thomé* and *Mobilians*. The men and women go properly dressed to church. The men wear long coats, and the women dress in cloaks, and silk petticoats, after the fashion of the French; and wear their hair plaited in two tresses, after the Spanish fashion. When mass is concluded, the men, women, and children, return home, and disguise themselves, and pass the evening in dancing with the French, who go to visit them. They are very partial to the French, and speak both the French and Spanish languages.†

* Author of the "Memoir Addressed to Count de Pontchartrain, on the Importance of Establishing a Colony in Louisiana." See pp. 1-16 of this volume.

† The *Apalache* Indians are described by the historian of HERNANDO DE SOTO's expedition into Florida as a brave and numerous people, spread over the plains and morasses to the south, and along the Gulf of Mexico. They appreciated their independence too much, and refused to become the slaves of NARVAEZ and DE SOTO. But few words of their language are preserved. This nation resided, in former times, in the region of country between the *Suwanee* and *Apalachicola* rivers, from which they were finally driven out by the *Alibamons* and *Creeks*.

1710.

M. DE BIENVILLE has built himself a beautiful country house on the sea shore, about a league from the fort, which he has ornamented with a grove of orange trees, where he resides, most of the year, for his health. In the month of September, an English corsair made a descent upon *Dauphine Island*, destroyed, and carried off more than sixty thousand livres of property.

CHAPTER VIII.



EARLY in January, 1711, M. DIRON 1711.

D'ARTAGUETTE, intendant commissary of the colony, arrived at *Mobile*, and entered upon the duties of his office.

In the month of May, the *Chickasaws* declared war against the *Choctaws*. Several Canadian traders came from the *Illinois-Caskaskias*, with letters from Father MAREST to M. DE BIENVILLE and D'ARTAGUETTE, in which he begged them to send an officer, with a detachment of troops, to restrain the Canadians from committing scandalous crimes with the daughters and wives of the *Illinois*, and thus preventing them from being converted to the Roman Catholic faith. These Indians are industrious and skillful in cultivating their lands, breaking them up with the plough, which they owe to the Jesuits, who have resided among them more than sixty years. This country is one of the most beautiful in all Louisiana. Every kind of grain and vegetables are produced here in the greatest abundance. It is in this country that you may behold the most magnificent prairies in the world. They have

1711. horses, which they purchase from the *Cadadoquioux* for merchandize, and pasture them here. They have, also, large numbers of oxen, cows, sheep, etc., upon the prairies. Poultry is abundant, and fish plentiful. So that, in fact, they lack none of the necessities or conveniences of life.

Near their village are three mills for grinding grain—one wind-mill, owned by the Jesuits, and two horse-mills, belonging to the *Illinois*. The *Caskaskias* women are very skillful. They generally sew together the buffalo-skins, which have wool as fine as that of English sheep, with thread of a fine, white quality. With this material they also manufacture garments, dyed with black, yellow, and red colors. These they make similar to those worn by our women of *Brittany*, or the loose wrappers of our French ladies. They add to this a head-dress. They also wear petticoats. They use a thread in sewing their clothes, made from the nerves, or tendons of the deer, which is prepared after the following manner: when the nerves, or tendons, of this animal are stripped, they are exposed to the sun, twice every twenty-four hours, after which, they are beaten, and draw from it a thread as fine and white as the most beautiful *Maline* thread of France.

The *Illinois* are very fond of good living, and have frequent feasts among themselves. Their choicest meats are the flesh of dogs, or wolves, which are brought up and fattened in their village. They are, for the most part, Catholics, and have a very large church in their village, which is well arranged in the interior. Besides the baptismal fonts, there are three chapels, ornamented with a bell and belfrey. They regularly attend the

services, which the Jesuits have translated from the Latin into 1711.
their own language.*

* The *Illinois* Indians, a tribe of the great *Algonquin* stock, were once powerful on the northern shores of the lakes. Their manners, customs, and religion, have been frequently described by travellers and the Jesuit fathers. In a letter from Father MAREST to Father GERMON, from "the village of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, *Caskaskias*, Novembar 12, 1712," he says: "The *Illinois* are much less barbarous than the other Indians. Christianity, and their intercourse with the French have, by degrees, civilized them. This is particularly remarked in our village, of which the inhabitants are almost all Christians, and has brought many French to establish themselves here, three of whom have married *Illinois* women. We find in the women a docility and ardor for the practice of the Christian virtues. This mission owes its establishment to the late Father GRAVIER. The following is the order we observe, each day, in our mission :—

"Early in the morning, we assemble the *Catechumens* at the church, where they have prayers, they receive instruction, and chant canticles. When they have retired, mass is said, at which all the Christians assist—the men placed on one side and the women on the other. Then they have prayers, which are followed by giving them a homily, after which each one goes to his labor. We then spend our time in visiting the sick, to give them the necessary remedies, and to console those who are laboring under any affliction.

"In the afternoon, all assemble, Christians and *Catechumens*, men and children, young and old, to whom questions are put by the missionary. In the evening, all assemble again at the church, to hear instruction, say prayers, and sing hymns. On Sundays and festivals, we add to the ordinary exercises instructions, which are given after the vespers. These hymns are their best instructions, which they retain more easily, since the words are set to airs, with which they are taught, and which pleases them. They often approach the sacraments; and the custom among them is to confess, and to communicate, once a fortnight."

Father GRAVIER was the first who investigated the principles of their language, and reduced them to grammatical rules. See GALLATIN's "Vocabulary of Fifty-three Indian Languages, and Comparative Vocabulary of Sixteen Tribes," in "*Archæologia Americana*," Vol. II; "Transactions of the American Ethnological Society;" "Comparative Vocabulary of the Lenni-Lenape and Algonquin MS.," in the library of the American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*; B. SMITH BARTON's "Comparative_vocabularies;" "Mithridates," Vol. III, Part III, pp. 343, 346, 416, 417, from LA HONTAN, SMITH, BARTON, LONG, and MACKENZIE; DUPONCEAU's "*Memoire sur le Systeme Grammatical des Langues de quelques Nations Indiennes de l'Amerique du Nord*," *Paris*, 1838."

1711. They sing, alternately, with the French, the latter, in French, and the former, in their own language. When a Frenchman wishes to marry one of their daughters, he sends a present, in proportion to his fortune, to the brother of the girl; for neither the father nor mother trouble themselves about it.

If the brother receives the present, it is understood he gives his consent, and he invites the father and mother to his house, and he consults with them. If they find him an honest and proper person, the son then divides the present with his parents; and, on their part, they give, in return, more valuable presents than they receive, which are sent by the son to his intended brother-in-law. The next day, the suitor visits the brother and parents of the girl, whom he salutes, when all of them at once proceed to the Jesuit fathers, who inscribe the marriage agreement in their registers.

The bans are then published, during three consecutive weeks, when, if no objection is made, the marriage takes place as in France. The wedding usually takes place at the house of the bridegroom, which is attended by all the relatives, who, after church service in the morning, send to his house the necessary provisions for the occasion. They then conduct the married couple home, where a repast is prepared, and, after that, dancing begins, and is continued until evening.

This nation is very brave in war. They use both the gun, bow, and arrow, and are not so inhuman as other tribes. The children taken by them in war are saved, brought up, and educated by the Jesuit fathers; but the men, and old people, who are capable of doing an injury, are put to death with a club.

In September, the frigate *Rénommée*, commanded by M. DE RÉMONVILLE, arrived at *Dauphine Island*, with provisions for the colony. He also brought M. DE SAINTE HELENE, midshipman, to serve as aid-de-camp to M. DE BIENVILLE, his uncle. In November, M. D'ARTAGUETTE, an accomplished gentleman and scholar, returned to France, carrying with him the sincere regrets of the colony. 1711.

CHAPTER IX.

1712.



N January, 1712, M. DE SAINTE HELENE sailed for *Vera Cruz*, to purchase provisions for the colony, and, while at anchor in the roadstead, his vessel encountered a violent storm, which drove it ashore, and, very soon after, it went to pieces. The

Viceroy of Mexico (the Duke DE LINARES, who succeeded the Duke D'ALBUQUERQUE), on hearing of this disaster, sent immediately a vessel to take M. DE SAINTE HELENE and his crew back to Louisiana, with letters for M. DE BIENVILLE. In March, a frigate, commanded by M. DE LA VIGNE VOISIN, arrived in *Mobile Bay*, with letters from M. DUCASSE, Governor of St. Domingo, to the Viceroy of Mexico.

1713.

On the 17th of March, 1713, it was announced, by the firing of a salute, that the frigate *Baron de la Fosse*, commanded by M. DE LA JONQUIERE, had arrived in *Mobile Bay*, with news that a peace had been concluded at *Utrecht*. Among the passengers who came over, were M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC,* the new

* M. ANTOINE DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC was born in *Gascony* (France); and, before he came to Louisiana, had served, with distinction, as an officer in Canada. In 1712,

1713.

Governor-General of Louisiana, Mde. DE LA MOTTE, her sons and daughter, and servants; besides, twenty-five young girls from *Brittany*, who came with the expectation of finding husbands in the colony. M. DUCLOS, intendant commissary, in place of M. D'ARTAGUETTE, who had returned to France; M. LE BAS, comptroller of finances; M. DE RICHEBOURG,* and M. M. DIRIGOIN and LA LOIRE DES URSINS, as agents and directors of M. CROZAT, Marquis DE CHATEL,† to whom the King had granted a charter of Louisiana, by letters patent;‡ and M. DE BIENVILLE retained as lieutenant-governor of the colony. At the time of the transfer, there was in the colony about four hundred persons, including twenty negroes. The same ship also brought over a large supply of provisions and ammunition, which was deposited in the magazines and public stores at *Mobile* and *Dauphine Island*. A few days after the arrival of M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC, he received orders from M. CROZAT to send out detachments among the Spaniards, for

he was appointed Governor of Louisiana, and arrived there in May, 1713. Being a partner of M. DE CROZAT, they obtained the exclusive privilege of the commerce of that vast country for fifteen years. He visited the Illinois country, and established a post in Alabama. He ordered a fort to be built at the *Natchez*, which he called *Fort Rosalie*, in compliment to Mde. DE PONTCHARTRAIN, and another at *Natchitoches*, to prevent the Spaniards approaching too closely the French colony. He administered the government of Louisiana till the 9th of March, 1717, when he resigned, and returned to France, where he died in the following year.

* Author of "*Memoire sur la Premiere des Natchez*," First Series "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. III, pp. 241-252.

† M. CROZAT, Marquis DE CHATEL, was one of the bankers and great financiers who figured in the reign of Louis XIV, and who accumulated a large fortune out of the East India trade. He died June 7, 1738.

‡ See Letters Patent, First Series, "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. III, pp. 38-42.

1713. the purpose of trade, and to the *Illinois*, for the same purpose, and also to discover mines. M. DE LA JONQUIERE, and M. DIRIGOIN, the director, was also ordered to proceed to *Vera Cruz*, and exchange some of the merchandize brought from France, for cattle and horses, of which we were greatly in need, and, if possible, to establish a free trade between the two countries, to which the Viceroy of Mexico refused to give his consent. He would only give them permission to purchase some cattle and provisions, which were delivered to them in the roadstead, with orders to weigh anchor, and depart immediately. M. JUCHEREAU DE ST. DENIS, a brave and enterprising officer, was called to *Mobile* by M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC, and, after his arrival, he made him a proposition to go to *Natchitoches*, and from thence by land to Mexico, to establish commercial relations with that country, which he accepted, and took ten thousand livres worth of merchandize from the public stores, and loaded it in five canoes; and, provided with a passport to the Spanish Governor, he set out from the fort, and, accompanied by twenty men, of which I was one of the number, we proceeded on our expedition to Mexico. We stopped at *Biloxi*, where M. DE ST. DENIS resides. From there, I set out in a canoe, with two Indians, to go to the *Colapissas*, to bring back some of the *Natchitoches** Indians and their families to *Biloxi*, in order that they might accompany us up the *Red River*, as far as their first village.

Upon my arrival among them, the next day, I was well

* A small number of the *Natchitoches* nation was domesticated with the *Colapissas*, on the northern shore of *Lake Pontchartrain*.

received by both nations; but, upon the following day, when I was preparing to depart, jealousy, or rage, took possession of the *Colapissas*, who fell upon the *Natchitoches*, and attacked them with guns and arrows, and, despite of all my efforts to restrain them from fighting, seventeen of the *Natchitoches* were killed; and it was with extreme danger and difficulty that I was able to save the chief, by covering him with my own body. The *Colapissas* seized upon more than fifty of the *Natchitoches* women and girls; the remainder of the men dispersed themselves in the woods, and, when evening came, they joined me like a flock of scattered sheep. I conducted them to M. DE ST. DENIS, who was greatly surprised at this tragical event, and promised that they should be avenged, and the *Colapissas* should be compelled to return to them all their women and children. 1713.

We remained some time at *Biloxi*, for the purpose of collecting all we could of the *Natchitoches*, and succeeded in obtaining about thirty more. We then transported our merchandize to the banks of the *Mississippi*, and proceeded from thence, in our canoes, to the *Red River*.

We ascended the *Mississippi* to *Pass-Manchac*, where we killed fifteen buffaloes. The next day, we landed again, and killed eight more buffaloes, and as many deer. We then proceeded directly to the village of the *Tonicas*, two leagues beyond the mouth of *Red River*, to obtain all the provisions we possibly could. M. DE ST. DENIS held an interview with the chief of the *Tonicas*, and engaged him to accompany us, with fifteen of his men, it being understood that they would be remunerated for their services. We then entered the mouth of the *Red River*

1713. (formerly called the *Oumas*, or *Sablanière*, also, the river of the *Natchitoches*), which empties into the *Mississippi* from the west, its course being from the north-west. At a distance of eight leagues in ascending, on the right hand side, we came to a river which empties into *Red River*, called the *Ouachitas* (*Black River*). Five leagues higher up, we came to a large prairie, and four leagues further, came to *Saline*, or *Salt River*. Six leagues above *Saline River*, we arrived at a small stream, upon the banks of which dwells a nation, called *Tassenogoula*, which, in French, signifies the *Nation of the Rocks*. Their village is situated at the base of a chain of hills, running north and south. Their cabins are constructed and covered in the same manner as those of the *Natchez*; their manners, religion, and customs, being the same, as they lived a long time with that nation, from which they separated, on account of the perpetual wars among them.

Nine leagues higher up, we came to the falls, extending the whole width of the river. Here it became necessary for us to make a portage of our canoes and merchandize, to the head of the falls, and, one league above, we encountered another fall, where we were obliged to perform the same operation. Three leagues beyond this, we entered a branch of the *Red River*, twelve leagues in extent, the terminus of which leads into a small lake, about two leagues in length, and about half a league in width. On the right of this lake, the land is quite elevated. Two leagues further on, we came to another lake, eight leagues in circuit, and two leagues wide, through which this branch of *Red River* passes; and, ascending five leagues more, came to a hill, called *l'Écore à la Croix* (the *Bluff of the Cross*). Near this

place, we met the rest of the *Natchitoches*, who had come by 1713.
land, and arrived here before us. They were accompanied by
another nation of Indians, called the *Doustionis*, numbering about
two hundred men. They followed us to the village of the
Natchitoches, nine leagues higher up, which is situated upon an
island, formed by the separation of *Red River* into two branches.
As soon as M. DE ST. DENIS arrived there, he assembled the
chiefs of the two nations, and, in the presence of the chief of
the *Tonicas*, told them they must begin to cultivate their lands,
that he was about to distribute to them the corn and grain he
had brought with them for that purpose. And, moreover, they
would always have the French among them, whom it would be
necessary to supply with the means of subsistence. He recom-
mended them to go to work immediately, telling them they
would have nothing to fear from hostile nations, so long as they
continued united among themselves.

We distributed among them pickaxes, hoes, and axes. They
cut down the trees, with which we constructed two houses in
their villages, for lodging and storing our merchandize. After
remaining here six weeks, we set out, on the 23d of August, to
explore the Spanish territory,* taking with us twelve French-
men, fifteen *Tonicas*, and as many of the *Natchitoches* as guides.

* In this expedition, M. DE ST. DENIS was instructed to explore the country west-
ward, and to observe the movements of the Spaniards on the *Rio del Norte*, and to see
if they had advanced into Louisiana, now Texas. No settlement had then been made
by them east of that river; but they claimed jurisdiction over all that country to *Red
River*, under the name of the province of "*Texas*." The more effectually to hold
this country, the French, afterwards, established a mission and fort on the upper tribu-
taries of the *Sabine*, which was held until the treaty of 1763, when Louisiana was
ceded to Spain.

1714. Ten Frenchmen were left to guard the merchandize in the *Natchitoches* village, with the injunction to keep close watch over it. I was one of those who accompanied M. DE ST. DENIS. We went, by land, to the village of the *Assinais*, because the river, above *Natchitoches*, is impeded by timber. After a march of twenty-two days, we arrived among the *Assinais*.* During the entire route, we had lived on the products of our hunting. Our rations consisted of an ear of corn, and a piece of buffalo meat. The *Assinais* were astonished at seeing us, as they had never before seen any French, and had only seen some half-naked, half-civilized Spaniards, who, for five years past, had ceased to visit them. They chanted the *calumet* of peace to M. DE ST. DENIS, who gave them presents, and employed them as guides in search of the Spaniards.

In their village, we found a woman, named ANGELICA, who had been baptized by the Spanish priests. She spoke Spanish very well; and, as M. DE ST. DENIS was familiar with that language, he made use of her as the chief interpretest. We took but few provisions with us, as we could not obtain any among the *Assinais*, and were compelled again to subsist by hunting. Despite, however, of want and fatigue, we were sustained by the hope of soon being recompensed by the discoveries which awaited us. We pursued our journey, in this way, for the

* The name of this nation is written in different ways, by travellers, since the time of LA SALLE. *Cenis*, *Assinais*, *Assonys*, a numerous and powerful nation, made up of many different tribes, who roamed over the whole country of Texas, from the *Bay of St. Bernard* (*St. Louis*) to the *Red River*, the customs, manners, and religion of which were not different from other tribes in the West. But few words of this nation are found in early writers.

distance of one hundred and fifty leagues, and, at the end of a month and a half, reached the first Spanish village, called *El Presidio del Norte* (the village of the *River of the North*), which is situated on the banks of the river of that name. 1714.

As soon as we arrived there, Don Senor RAIMOND, a captain of Spanish cavalry, came to speak with M. DE ST. DENIS, and learn the object of his visit, and what he wished. M. DE ST. DENIS told him that he had been sent there by the Governor of Louisiana, for the purpose of opening commercial relations with the Spaniards. The captain, who was a man of good sense, replied, that he had no authority in the premises, but would write to the Governor of *Caouis*, and give him an answer, when the orders of his superior were received. He then provided lodgings for the soldiers, and invited M. DE ST. DENIS to his own house, accompanied by a surgeon, JALOT, his valet, and myself. We waited full six weeks without receiving an answer from the Governor of *Caouis*, as he, in turn, had sent a similar message to the Governor of *Paraille*, a small town about thirty leagues from *Caouis*,* for his advice. These towns are about sixty leagues distant from the *River of the North* (*Rio del Norte*). Mining, and coining silver, are carried on by the inhabitants of both places.

At length, Don GASPARDO ANAYA, the Governor of *Caouis*, sent an officer and twenty-five cavalry to the village where we were, with an order to bring M. DE ST. DENIS before him. He told us, upon his departure, to wait his return in this village, where he would direct his order and information. We remained there over a month—I at the house of the captain, and the

* The town of *Caouis* is about seven hundred and fifty miles from Mexico.

1714. soldiers and Indians at their several lodgings, until we received the order from M. DE ST. DENIS to return to *Natchitoches*; because the Governor of *Caouis*, after an examination of the passport of M. DE ST. DENIS, resolved to send him to Mexico, three hundred leagues distant, where he arrived on the 25th of June, and did not return until the following year (1715).

The rest of us had to depart, immediately, upon the reception of our orders, which we did, with the greatest reluctance; for the Spanish damsels of that village were very agreeable to us, and were themselves vexed at our departure. I gave the captain—at whose house M. DE ST. DENIS and I had lodged—my most sincere thanks for his kindness and hospitality. His name was DON PEDRO DE VILLESCHAS. He had two daughters, one of whom (DONNA MARIA) was subsequently married to M. DE ST. DENIS, upon his return from Mexico. We set off upon our journey with great regret, and few provisions, and were two months in reaching the village of the *Assinais*, as we were often obliged to stop and hunt, in order to obtain subsistence.

At the village of the *Assinais*, we stopped for repose and provisions. There were but few Indians in the village at the time, as they were out upon a war expedition against the *Kitaesechis* (*Keechies*).* They make war quite different from the Indians on the banks of the *Mississippi*. They are all mounted on horseback, with quivers fastened behind, filled with arrows. They carry a bow, and small shield made of buffalo-hide, which is held in the left hand, and is intended to protect them from the

* *Keechies*, a tribe of Indians, related to the *Panis* or *Paragnees*, living on the *Canadian River*. See WHIPPLE'S Vocabulary; Railroad Reports, Vol. II.

arrows of their enemies. They have no other curb or bridal for their horses than a piece of hair-rope; their stirrups are made of the same material, which are fastened to deer-skin, three or four in thickness, thus forming their saddle. 1714.

The *Assinais* returned from their expedition the day after we arrived in their village, forming a body of one hundred and fifty armed and mounted men, who were all excellent horsemen. Of six prisoners whom they captured, only two were brought to their village, the others having been killed and eaten by them during the journey. They exposed these two unfortunate prisoners upon the public square, with their hands tightly bound behind their backs, and guarded by twelve men, to prevent them from entering into any of the cabins; for if, by any ruse or force, a prisoner can take refuge in one of their cabins, he is a precious morsel, to be eaten by their women and children. After this repast is over, they untie their prisoners from the frames, cut them up in pieces, which is served up to each family, and cooked in a pot. During the operation of cooking, these cannibals (*anthropophagi*) keep up a dance while eating them.

Their neighbors, with whom they were at war, were called the *Aquodoces* (*Nacogdoches*), residing about ten leagues from their village, the *Cadodaquioux*, about forty leagues off to the north, and the *Three Canes*,* about one hundred leagues in a northern

* The *Three Canes*, or *Tawakenoes*, lived on the head-branches of the *Rio Brazos*, towards *Santa Fé*, about two hundred miles from *Nacogdoches*. They spoke the same language as the *Panis* or *Towiaches*, a warlike tribe on the banks of the *Platte*, *Kansas*, and head-waters of the *Red River*. See SAY's "Vocabulary of Indian Languages," 8vo, *Philadelphia*, 1822; GALLATIN's "Synopsis;" BALBI's "*Atlas Ethnographique*," Tab. 41, No. 738.

1714. direction. All those nations make war on horseback ; and each warrior possesses from three to four of those animals.

Upon leaving them, we passed through a village of Indians, called the *Yatasees*,* whom we persuaded to come with us, and live among the *Natchitoches*, where we conducted them, with their women, children, and cattle. They have resided together, ever since, in perfect harmony and good feeling.

On our return to *Natchitoches*, we found the twelve Frenchmen whom we had left to guard the merchandize, and told them that we had orders from M. DE ST. DENIS to wait here for him. The *Tonicas* left us here, and returned to their homes.

* There are but few of this tribe now living. Their village, a few years ago, was in the district of the *Natchitoches*, where the French had a station. They speak the *Caddo* language.

CHAPTER X.



WAS yet among the *Natchitoches*, awaiting the return of M. DE ST. DENIS; but, 1714.

seeing that we were getting short of provisions, I descended the river in a canoe, with six of my comrades, to obtain food among the *Natchez*, where I met the Messrs. DE LA LOIRE DES URSINS, who informed me of their intentions.

I found, among the *Natchez*, some slaves belonging to the nation of the *Chaouanons* (*Shawanees*), who had been captured by a strong party of *Chicachas*, *Yazous*, and *Natchez*, who, under the pretext of visiting their village for the purpose of dancing* the *calumet* of peace, had attacked them in the most base and treacherous manner, and killed their *Grand Chief*, with most of his

* This dance of the *calumet* of peace is a solemn ceremony, and different from the dance of the *calumet* of war, which they only perform on important occasions, such as to confirm an alliance, or make peace with their neighbors. They also perform it when they come to pay a visit to a nation, on which occasion they get up a grand entertainment. The *calumet* is made like a common tobacco pipe, but larger, and is fixed to a hollow reed, to hold it for smoking. The head is made of baked clay, or red stone, to look like the head of a bird, or animal, and very much ornamented with feathers of different colors.

1714. family, took eleven prisoners, among whom was the wife of the chief, and brought them to the *Natchez*.

I used all the efforts in my power to have them liberated, but was unsuccessful. I was very much astonished to meet three Englishmen there, who had come with the intention of purchasing them as slaves. They are the cause of exciting those savages to war with each other, as it enables them to purchase a large number of slaves, whom they convey into *Carolina* to work on their plantations.

In the meantime, M. DE LA LOIRE DES URSINS received orders from M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC to arrest a certain English officer, or lord, who had come to Louisiana for the purpose of tampering with the tribes dwelling upon the borders of the *Mississippi*. He was then among the *Natchez*.

After sending off the canoe, loaded with flour, to my comrades, who were waiting for it at the *Natchitoches*, I, with two Frenchmen, remained to assist M. DE LA LOIRE in the execution of the orders he had received. We dared not arrest him in the village of the *Natchez* for fear of giving offence, and of opposition, on their part, to the measure. But, not doubting that he would descend the river, we determined to waylay him on his journey. Before leaving the village, M. DE LA LOIRE resolved, however, to have an interview with him, in order to discover his designs. Having approached him, he asked him if he had come to make any purchases among the *Natchez*. He replied, very frankly, that he, with two other Englishmen, had visited the *Natchez*, for the purpose of purchasing peltries, and that it was his intention to go among the *Colapissas*, on his way down the river,

thence among the *Choctaws*, where he had a depot of merchandize and peltry, and from thence would return, by land, into *Carolina*, in company with the other Englishmen, who were, like himself, engaged in traffic with the Indians.

After this conversation, M. DE LA LOIRE DES URSINS rejoined us. I advised him to let him take his departure first, so that he would not distrust us, and that, should he get in advance a day, I was sure we could overtake him. M. DE LA LOIRE took my advice, and permitted him to depart.

The next day, twelve of us descended the river, in two canoes. We learned, from some Indian hunters, the Englishman was at the village of the *Tonicas*, which nation were chanting to him the *calumet*, a circumstance that obliged us to pass lower down, and wait for him at *Manchac*, where we found the *Taensas*, who had abandoned their village on account of the continual wars waged against them by the *Oumas*. We prevailed upon them to accompany us to *Mobile*, where land would be given them to cultivate, which offer they accepted.

We landed near an encampment of Indians, whom we desired to awaken us, should they see a canoe passing in which there was an Englishman. The chief showed us the presents he had given him, and told us he had crossed over to the other side of the river, where he had stopped for the purpose of passing the night. We took with us two *Tensas* chiefs as guides, and crossed the river. We found him occupied in sketching, and he was much surprised to see us approach, armed with muskets, and, yet more, when M. DE LA LOIRE informed him that he had an order to arrest and conduct him to *Mobile*.

1714. He observed that the two nations were at peace, that they could find nothing to reproach him for, and that if it were exacted of him to go, it must be done by force. M. DE LA LOIRE, who had orders to take him, dead or alive, replied, that he arrested him in the name of the King, and, at the same time, seized hold of him. He endeavored to make some resistance, but uselessly. We embarked him in one of our canoes, and the fifteen *Choctaws* who accompanied him followed us, as did also the *Taensas*, to whom we abandoned the merchandize found in the canoe of the Englishman, and conducted him to *Mobile*, without stopping, where we delivered him up to M. DE BIENVILLE, as M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC had gone up the river among the *Illinois*.

M. DE BIENVILLE gave to the *Taensas* the place formerly occupied by the *Chaouanons* (*Shawanees*), and *Tauatchas*, two leagues distant from the fort. The English officer remained at *Mobile* but three days, where he was very kindly treated by M. DE BIENVILLE. He was then set at liberty, and profitted by it to visit *Pensacola*, where he was also kindly received, and treated by the Spanish Governor, DON GUZMAN. He left *Pensacola* to visit the *Alibamons*, but, having fallen upon a party of *Thomés* hunters, he was captured and slain. We heard of this accident some two months after. M. DE BIENVILLE sent home the fifteen *Choctaws* who had accompanied the English lord in his voyage down the *Mississippi*. Upon their arrival at their village, they did not fail to tell that the Englishman had been captured by the French; whereupon, the *Choctaws* killed all the English dwelling among them, and pillaged their merchandize. The

other nations imitated their example, so that the evils which the English had planned to inflict upon the French reacted upon themselves. 1714.

The *Choctaws* were not alone in committing hostilities against the English, for the *Cherokees*, the *Abeikas*, and the *Alibamons*, who live in the vicinity of *Carolina*, went, to the number of three thousand warriors, to invade *Carolina*, where they burned and pillaged a great number of dwellings, made many prisoners of men and women, as well as negroes, and brought them all to their villages. When M. DE BIENVILLE received this information, he immediately provided for the redemption of all the English—men, women, and children, and sent every one, who desired it, back to their homes. M. DE LA LOIRE DES URSINS then reascended the river to the *Natchez*. M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC returned at the end of the year from the mines in Illinois, and afterwards sent fifty miners there to commence mining operations.

The twelve Frenchmen who remained among the *Natchitoches*, tired of waiting the return of M. DE ST. DENIS, and, falling short of provisions, came to *Mobile*, with the merchandize entrusted to their care. The *Grand Chief* of the Indians, who dwelt upon the borders of *Carolina*, and who had the title of *Emperor*, came to *Mobile* with the chiefs of the other nations, to chant the *calumet* of peace with M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC. The principal chief of the *Alibamons*, in company with the *Emperor*, proposed to M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC to make peace, and construct a fort among them, at the expense of his nation—such a one as the French should desire. He took

1714. him at his word, and sent Captain DE LA TOUR, two lieutenants, and one hundred men, to their country, and selected an elevated spot, upon the banks of the *Coosa River*, at double the distance of musket-shot from their village, where the Indians helped them to construct a fort, about three hundred feet square, with lodgings for both officers and soldiers, and a large magazine for ammunition and provisions.* We have always, since, preserved this fort, which we called *Fort Toulouse*, and kept it constantly garrisoned with troops and munitions of war, because it is situated in the direct route in going to, and returning from, Carolina and Georgia. As yet, no permanent settlement was made at the *Natchez*.

* This fort was built on the east bank of the *Coosa*, four miles above the junction of that river with the *Tallapoosa*. After the peace of 1762, it was occupied by the English. In the war of the United States with Great Britain, in 1812, General JACKSON built a new fort on its ruins, which took his name.

CHAPTER XI.



AT the end of the year 1714, M. DE 1714.

TISSENET, from Canada, arrived at *Mo-*

bile, to enter the service of M. CROZAT.

He brought with him some specimens of minerals (lead) from the mines in the neighborhood of *Caskaskias*, that had

been given him by some Canadians, in which M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC discovered some silver, and concluded to visit them privately. He set out, accordingly, for the *Illinois*, in January, 1715, to explore the lead mines fourteen leagues to 1715.

the west of the *Mississippi*, and, after his departure, M. DE BIENVILLE took measures to put a stop to the English trading with the *Choctaws*, and other Indian nations in the neighborhood of the French, and on the *Mississippi*. In July, a boat arrived at the fort, and reported that several Indian tribes had fallen upon the English trading in their villages, and had massacred a number of them.

On the 15th of August, a brig of war, the *Dauphine*, commanded by M. BERRANGER, arrived at *Dauphine Island*, with provisions for the colony, and two companies of infantry, com-

1715. manded by M. M. BAJOT and MARIGNY DE MANDEVILLE.*

In the same vessel also came M. ROGOEN, to relieve M. DIRIGOIN, one of M. CROZAT's directors. After landing the troops and provisions, the Dauphin returned to France with M. DIRIGOIN, and dispatches for M. CROZAT.

In the meantime, M. DE BIENVILLE received orders from the King to commence an establishment at the *Natchez*. The news that four Canadians, descending the *Mississippi* from the *Illinois*, had been assassinated by the *Natchez*, caused M. DE BIENVILLE to hasten his departure for ~~the~~ country. He had ordered one company of infantry to be sent there, to make it his headquarters. He set out, accordingly, and arrived at the fort on the *Mississippi*, where he found M. M. DE PAILLOUX and DE RICHEBOURG with the provisions he had sent from *Mobile*, and ordered them to proceed to the *Tonicas*, a post which had been established some time before, two leagues above the mouth of *Red River*, on the borders of a lake, where they arrived on

1716. the 23d of April. M. DAVION, the missionary at the *Tonicas*, warned M. DE BIENVILLE to be upon his guard with the *Tonicas*. A short time after, M. DE LA LOIRE DES URSINS, the elder, descended from the *Natchez* to *Mobile*, and, on his way down, he met a canoe, with four Frenchmen, who were ascending the river to the *Illinois*, for the purpose of traffic. Upon their arrival at the *Natchez*, they engaged four of that nation to assist them on their voyage up the river, as the current was, at that time,

* This officer, whose descendants still reside in Louisiana, and who are among the most distinguished families there, afterwards wrote a "*Memoire sur la Louisiane*," which was published in *Paris*, 1759.

very rapid. Upon reaching *Petit Gulf*, they encamped for the night, and, while asleep, the Indians killed them, and threw them into the river, and then descended the river with the merchandize to their village, where they made a division of it. 1716.

I was at the *Natchez* when this occurred. M. DE BIENVILLE rejoined them at the *Tunicas*, and sent a Frenchman to inform the *Natchez* that he was coming to form a settlement among them. After receiving the *calumet* from the *Tunicas*, he encamped upon an island, where he had ordered an entrenchment to be made, and barracks for the provisions and ammunition he brought with him. On the 27th of April, three *Natchez* chiefs arrived, and presented the *calumet*, which M. DE BIENVILLE rejected, until satisfaction was rendered for the Frenchmen they had killed. They were confounded at this reply, and the *Little Chief* lowered his *calumet*, and raised his eyes and arms to the *Sun*, and invoked the forgiveness of M. DE BIENVILLE. He then presented the *calumet* again, which M. DE BIENVILLE refused, until the *White Chief* and accomplices of the murder should be given up, and placed in irons. As the water of the *Mississippi* continued to rise, it caused a great deal of sickness, and obliged him to send the sick to the village of the *Tunicas*, which was upon high ground, where they remained until they got well. On the 17th of May, the prisoners proposed to M. DE BIENVILLE to send two of their chiefs to the *Great Chief* of the *Natchez*, for the heads of the murderers. They brought him, at last, the head of the brother of the *Great Chief*, called the *Arrow*, who was one of the murderers, and had been a great disturber of the public peace. The punishment

1716. of this chief restored peace, and it was now stipulated that the *Natchez* should furnish the lumber to build a fort in their country for the safety of the French. Thus ended the first war, or difficulty, with the *Natchez*. The work was now commenced on the fort, under the direction of M. DE PAILLOUX, who was appointed, by M. DE BIENVILLE, commandant.

On the 22d of July, M. DE BIENVILLE having been informed that the fort was almost finished, he ordered the chief of the *Tunicas* to furnish him with thirty men to aid him in ascending the river, which was still very rapid, as he had but six men remaining in health. On the 26th, we arrived at the *Natchez*, and the *Great Chief* furnished him with one hundred men to remove his effects from the canoes to the fort. The next day, we placed the few soldiers who remained in health to work upon the fort until the 2d of August, when it was entirely inclosed; and the *Natchez* covered the barracks, store-house, guard-house, and magazine with bark, which was finished on the 5th. On the 25th, about thirty *Yasous* and six hundred *Natchez*, without arms, came to dance the *calumet* before the fort, to show their joy at having the French established among them. On the 28th, M. DE BIENVILLE seeing that all was tranquil, and had nothing to fear from the *Natchez*, gave instructions to M. DE PAILLOUX what to do, and took his departure, the next day, for *Mobile*, where he had to render an account to M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC.

On the 4th of October, he arrived at *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, where he found an order from the King, appointing him commander-in-chief of the colony, during the absence of M. DE

L'EPINAY, who had been appointed governor in place of M. DE 1716.
LA MOTTE CADILLAC.

In October, M. M. DE ST. DENIS, LE ROY, LA FRENIERE, and BEAULIEU *freres*, formed a commercial partnership, and purchased, from the store of M. CROZAT, sixty thousand livres worth of merchandize to sell to the Spaniards in the kingdom of *New Leon*, and, on the 10th of October, they set out from *Mobile* to go to Mexico.

CHAPTER XII.

1717.



ON the 9th of March, 1717, three of M. DE CROZAT's ships arrived in the roads, off *Dauphine Island*, from France. The *Duclos*, commanded by M. DE GOLVILLE, the *Paon*, by M. DUSANT-SANTILLE, and the *Peace*, by M. JARY. They brought over M. DE L'ÉPINAY, the new governor, and M. HUBERT, Intendant Commissary,* to succeed M. DUCLOS; also, M. M. D'ARTAGUETTE, GOURIS, DUBREUIL, GUÉNOT, ARUTHS DE BONIL, TREFONTAINE, and MOSSY, who came to establish settlements in Louisiana. Having heard of their arrival, M. DE BIENVILLE went to pay his respects to them, when the new governor presented him with the Cross of St. Louis, which his Majesty had sent him as a reward for his distinguished service in the colony. The arrival of the new governor caused much dissatisfaction at first, as he wished to enforce new regulations. On the 25th of August, M. DE ST. DENIS returned to *Mobile* from his voyage of discoveries.

* The *Commissaire Ordonnateur*, or Intendant Commissary, was an officer who had, in colonial times, an extended authority, civil and military, but subordinate to that of the Governor.

1717.

M. M. DE L'EPINAY and DE BIENVILLE, seeing there was no good anchorage for ships coming from France, ordered a new fort to be built upon the main-land, opposite *Ship Island*. The place selected was one league west of *Old Biloxi*, opposite the anchorage of *Ship Island*, which was afterwards called *New Biloxi*. The transport ship *Dauphine*, commanded by M. BER-RANGER, having arrived, and brought a great number of carpenters and masons, they were put to work on the new fort. Afterwards, the attention of the colonists was also directed to the choice of a location for a city, on the right bank of the *Mississippi*, which M. DE BIENVILLE had reported to the new governor as the most favorable location for a great commercial emporium.

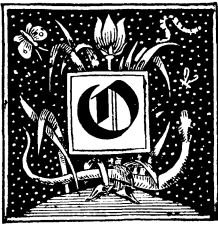
In the month of August, 1717, a company was formed in France, under the title of the Western Company of the Indies,* and M. CROZAT's charter was, at his request, revoked, as he

* The plan of this company was not unlike that of the British *East India Company*, and possessed powers and privileges nearly equal. But the plunder of a savage wilderness could not yield such immense revenues as an ancient, wealthy, and effeminate empire; hence, the reason it failed. The charter had a legal existence of twenty-five years. It was authorized to monopolize the commerce of all the colonies in *New France*; to make treaties with the Indian tribes; to declare and prosecute war against them in defence of the colony; to grant lands, erect forts, levy troops, raise recruits, and to open and work all mines of precious metals which might be discovered. It was permitted, and authorized, to nominate and present men for the office of governor, and for commanders of troops, and to commission the latter, subject to the King's removal; to remove inferior judges and civil officers; to build and equip ships of war. The King also granted, for the use of the company, all the forts, magazines, guns, ammunition, and vessels, pertaining to the province of Louisiana. Among the obligations imposed upon the company was the stipulation to introduce into Louisiana six thousand white persons, and three thousand negro slaves, and to protect the colonists from Indian outrages. See Letters Patent, granted to this company, First Series "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. III, pp. 49-59.

1717. had expended large sums of money without deriving any profits, although the colony had increased in population, and several forts had been erected. In the meantime, however, the Spaniards had advanced from the west to the east side of the *Rio Bravo del Norte*.^{*} By this arrangement, made with the Western Company, the province of Louisiana reverted solely into the hands of the King of France.

^{*} In the last two years of Mr. CROZAT's administration, the Spaniards had advanced from the mission of "*St. John the Baptist*," on the east side of the *Rio Bravo del Norte*, to the mission of "*San Antonio de Bexar*," on the west side of that river, and north-east side of *San Antonio River*. Advancing still further, they established a mission at *La Bahia*, thirty miles north of the *Bay of St. Bernard* (*Matagorda*), which they designated "*Espiritu Santo*," near the present town of *Goliad*, to establish their claims, by occupation (*primo occupante*), to the province of Texas. They were, however, a few years too late, as the French had already, under M. DE LA SALLE, in 1685, built a fort on *St. Bernard's Bay*, and took possession of the country of Texas, with the usual formalities, which gave a complete title to France. These are the oldest towns in Texas, now one of the largest States in the American Union. Subsequently, however, and during the Spanish dominion over Louisiana, after the treaty of *Fontainebleau*, in 1762, they established the mission of "*San Miguel de Linarez*" upon the banks of the *Adaies*, now called *Spanish Lake*; also, several missions among the *Assinais* (*Cenis*) Indians, about one hundred and forty miles west of *Red River*, in the region designated by them as *New Philippine*. The French kept a jealous eye towards these encroachments, but they were too feeble to resist them—although, for more than thirty years before the arrival of the Spaniards, they kept up a military force, and claimed possession.

CHAPTER XIII.



ON the 9th of February, 1718, three ships 1718.
of the Western Company, the *Dauphine*,
the *Vigilant*, and the *Neptune*, com-
manded by M. M. DUPUIS, ARNAUDIN,
and BERRANGER, arrived at *Dauphine*
Island, and brought over M. DE BOIS-

BRIANT the King's lieutenant, and a commission for M. DE
BIENVILLE, as governor.* This appointment gave general sat-

* SIEUR LEMOYNE DE BIENVILLE, the second Royal Governor, was the brother of
PIERRE LEMOYNE D'IBERVILLE, the first Royal Governor of Louisiana, and was born at
Montreal, Canada, in 1672. He entered the military service of France at an early
age, and distinguished himself as a brave and efficient officer in the capture of *Fort*
Nelson (Bourbon) by M. D'IBERVILLE, and afterwards in a brilliant naval engagement
with the English, in *Hudson's Bay*, in which his brother, with a single frigate of fifty
guns, sunk an English frigate of fifty-two guns, took a frigate of thirty-two guns, and
put to flight one of thirty guns, in September, 1697. In this engagement he was
severely wounded, and, shortly after, sailed for France, to recruit his health, where he
joined the expedition, under the command of M. D'IBERVILLE, to colonize Louisiana.

After a prosperous voyage, the fleet arrived in the Gulf of Mexico in January, 1699.
In company with M. M. D'IBERVILLE, DE SAUVOL, and Father ANASTASE, he set out
a few days after, in two boats, in search of the *Mississippi* river, which they entered,
and explored, as far as the *Portage de la Croix*. On their return to the fleet, M.
D'IBERVILLE ordered a fort to be built at (*Old*) *Biloxi*, the command of which he

1718. isfaction, as no one better knew the wants and resources of the colony. The first act of his administration was to make arrangements to remove the head-quarters of the colonial government from the sterile lands of *Biloxi*, *Mobile*, and *St. Louis Bays*, to the rich country bordering on the *Mississippi*, the site for which he had selected, and sent workmen and laborers

gave to M. DE SAUVOL DE LA VILLANTRAY, a young and accomplished officer, who had accompanied the expedition.

M. DE BIENVILLE was appointed second in command, with orders from his brother, on his return to France, to visit the numerous Indian tribes on the rivers, bays, and lakes of Louisiana, and secure their friendship by making them presents.

In August, 1701, M. DE SAUVOL died of yellow fever, and was succeeded by M. DE BIENVILLE. A war broke out, soon after, between France, Spain, and England, which left, for a while, the colony unprotected; and the King ordered the head-quarters of the colony at *Biloxi* to be removed to *Fort Louis de la Mobile*.

The long absence of M. D'IBERVILLE from the Gulf of Mexico, who was ordered to attack the English towns on the Atlantic coast, left the colony unprotected and embarrassed. The government of M. DE BIENVILLE, which encouraged the hostility of his enemies, and being without the powerful support of his brother at the Court of France, they pushed their intrigues so persistently, that they caused his removal from office in 1707. His successor (M. DE MUEYS) did not, however, live to reach the colony, and M. DE BIENVILLE continued in command till the transfer of Louisiana to M. CROZAT. On the arrival of the new governor (M. DE LA MOTTE CADILLAC), M. DE BIENVILLE was retained as lieutenant-governor, and was ordered to form settlements on the *Mississippi* river; and, having built a fort at *Natchez*, he returned to *Mobile*.

In 1717, M. DE L'EPINAY, the new governor, arrived from France, and brought M. DE BIENVILLE the decoration of the Cross of St. Louis, and a royal patent, conceding to him *Horn Island*, on the coast of Louisiana, as a reward for the eminent services he had rendered the colony. In 1718, he succeeded M. DE L'EPINAY, and laid out *New Orleans* as the future capital of Louisiana. In the meantime, the Spaniards had quietly advanced from Mexico to the east side of the *Rio Grande*, and took possession of the country now known as the State of Texas. It was impossible for him to check this encroachment of the Spaniards, in consequence of the feeble condition of the colony, till the winter of 1719-20, when he dispatched M. DE LA HARPE to build a fort at *Natchitoches*. On peace being restored, M. DE BIENVILLE, in 1722, removed his head-quarters to *New Orleans*, and emigrants from France and Germany began to

there the year before, to lay the foundation of the future capital of Louisiana. They removed the trees and bushes, traced the streets and squares, and dug drains around each, to carry off the waste water from the overflowings of the river in high water; and also threw up an embankment in front and around the city, to protect it from inundation. After- 1718.

arrive in great numbers. The Indians, however, began to be very troublesome, and threatened the colonists with extermination. The forts on the *Tazoo* and *Mississippi* rivers were attacked in large force, and so complete was the massacre, that but few of the colonists reached *New Orleans*.

The clamor of the colonists was so great against M. DE BIENVILLE, that his enemies succeeded in having him recalled to France. He was succeeded by M. PERIER, who prosecuted the war against the Indians until they were subdued. But it involved the Western Company in an enormous debt, which following so closely upon the failure of the financial schemes of JOHN LAW, that they surrendered their charter to the Crown, which was finally accepted in 1732; and the King, seeing the precarious situation of Louisiana, reappointed M. DE BIENVILLE, who was then in France, Governor, and, early in the autumn of 1734, he arrived in *New Orleans*, where he was received with acclamations of joy.

He immediately organized an army to punish the *Chickasaws*, and attacked them in their strongholds, but was repulsed, with considerable loss. He returned to *New Orleans*, and, in the spring of 1737, led another expedition against them, in which he was more successful. They sued for peace, agreeing to drive out the English traders from among them. This campaign closed his military and civil career in Louisiana. He returned to France under a cloud of censure from his government, although he had faithfully served his country, in Louisiana, for more than forty years. In the twenty-five years he resided in France, he never, however, for a moment lost sight of the interests of the colony. He sympathized with her misfortunes, and rejoiced in her prosperity; and, when the French King ceded Louisiana to Spain, in 1762, he did not cease to implore his Majesty, with tears in his eyes, not to place his subjects in the hands of the tyrannical Spaniards.

M. DE BIENVILLE died in *Paris*, on the 7th of March, 1767, and was buried with military honors in the cemetery of *Montmartre*. And, although more than a century and a half has elapsed since he founded the city of *New Orleans*, no monument, not even of the smallest dimension, has yet been erected to his memory, nor portrait placed in the capitol of that gallant State, to remind the present and future generations of one of the bravest, best, and purest men that ever governed Louisiana.

1718. wards, agreeably to instructions from the Western Company, M. DE BIENVILLE sent a detachment of fifty soldiers, under command of his brother, M. DE CHATEAUGUÉ, to take possession of *St. Joseph's Bay*, and to construct a fort there, which he left in command of M. DE GOUSY, and, afterwards, set out to visit the place, on the banks of the *Mississippi*, which he had selected for his head-quarters, which he named *New Orleans*. The *Dauphine*, *Vigilant*, and *Neptune*, returned to France, and, on the 6th of March, the ships *Duchess de Noailles*, and the *Marin*, commanded by M. M. DE LA SALLE and JAPY, arrived at *Ship Island*, and brought over five hundred persons to establish themselves on the concessions. The first of those concessions (grants of land) was that of M. PARIS DU VERNAY, under the direction of M. DUBUISSON, who brought over with him his brother, two sisters, and twenty-five persons. This concession was located twenty-eight leagues above *New Orleans*, on the site of the old *Baya-Ogoulas* village. Besides the cultivation of the land, the raising of silk-worms and manufacture of silk was to be established; to accomplish which, they brought over a large number of mulberry trees.

The next concession was that of M. DE MUEYS, which was placed under the direction of his two nephews, M. M. DE LA LOIRE DES URSINS, and two other persons, named CHASTAN and ROUE, together with eighty laborers and servants, and located on the site of the old *Tensas* village. Messieurs BROSART BROTHERS, merchants of the city of *Lyons*, came over to locate a settlement among the *Natchitoches*, on *Red River*, called the *St. Jerome*, or *Natchitoches River*. M. BENARD DE LA

1718.

HARPE, of *St. Malo*, also came over, with twenty-five persons, to settle in the village of the *Cadodaquioux*, one hundred leagues above *Natchitoches*. M. DE LA HOUSSAYE, a gentleman of *Picardy*, France, with fifteen persons, also came over to settle on a concession, near the great village of the *Natchez* (twelve miles east of the present city of that name), on a little river (*St. Catherine's Creek*), which now belongs to the author of these annals, who purchased it of them. M. DE CHANTOUS, and M. M. LE PAGE, DU PRATZ, and LEGRAS, also brought over eight persons each, to settle on the site of the old *Choupitoulas* village above *New Orleans*, on the same side of the river.

M. DE BOISBRIANT, who arrived in the *Duchess de Noailles*, brought over commissions from his Majesty, conferring on M. PAILLoux the rank of major, and to DIRON, the brother of M. D'ARTAGUETTE, the rank of captain of a company of troops destined for the *Illinois*, and, before his departure, M. DE BOISBRIANT was made a Knight of the Order of St. Louis, and Governor of Illinois. In the beginning of October, M. DE BOISBRIANT set out, with several officers, to go to the *Illinois*. At the same time, M. DE LA HARPE embarked, with fifty men, for his concession on *Red River*, with orders to establish a post there, and ascertain the number of Indian tribes in the country. M. BARNAVAL went up with him as far as *Natchez*, to take the place of M. BLONDEL, who had been ordered to *Natchitoches* to relieve M. DE TISSENET, the latter being ordered to join M. DE BOISBRIANT at the *Illinois*. M. DE LA LOIRE accompanied them as director of the bureau and stores of the company.

1718. At the same time, M. DE BIENVILLE sent M. DE LA BOULAYE, lieutenant, with thirty men, to establish a fort among the *Yasous*. Upon his arrival there, he selected an elevated situation, about four leagues from the mouth of that river, on the right hand side ascending, and only a short distance from their village, where he built a fort. Some days after the departure of M. PIERRE DUGNÉ DE BOISBRIANT for the *Illinois*, the two ships, the *Duchess de Noailles* and *Marin*, returned to France, taking with them M. M. DE L'ÉPINAY and D'ORTUS.

M. DE BIENVILLE received a letter from M. DUBUISSON, who was in charge of the concession of M. PARIS DU VERNAY, established at the village of the *Bayagoulas*, that there was no safety upon the concession, so long as the French were at war with the *Chetimaches*. Upon this information, M. DE BIENVILLE sent the author of the annals of Louisiana among the *Chetimaches* to negotiate a peace. Although this commission was a perilous one, I, nevertheless, accepted it, because I spoke their language very well, and was acquainted with their chiefs. I did not go directly to their village, but went to the *Oumas* first, where I expected to meet some of the *Chetimaches*, who often came there. Nor was I disappointed in my conjectures, for I met three there, and informed them that I had instructions from Governor DE BIENVILLE to make a treaty of peace with them. They appeared delighted with this information, because, during their war with the French, they were treated as enemies by all the other nations, who every day sent out parties against them, and destroyed them in great numbers. They did not hesitate to follow me to the concession of M.

PARIS DU VERNAY, whither I conducted them, about seven leagues distant. When we arrived there, M. DUBUISSON gave them some presents for their chief, and supplied them with provisions for their journey, with orders to return within ten days, at the same time giving them a bundle of sticks to count the nights, whilst we counted the days. 1718.

They did not fail to return at the time agreed on, but they remained upon the banks of their river, which is five leagues from the concession. Only three envoys came to the plantation, and reported that the principal chief, with his wife and forty *Chetimaches*, were waiting to consult with me at that place. I hesitated a little about going there alone; but, seeing that no one would accompany me, I determined upon my course, and set off with the three envoys. As soon as I arrived upon the borders of their river, and was perceived by them, they set up a most frightful yelling. I then began to suspect treason, and that my last hours had come. But this yelling proved to be a mark of joy; for the *Grand Chief* gave me a friendly reception, assuring me that it afforded him great pleasure to see me, and that he and all his nation were sincerely desirous to make a lasting peace with the French. I told him, to arrive at that, it would be necessary to go to *New Orleans*, and chant the *calumet* of peace to the governor, to which they gave their consent. We stopped at the plantation of M. DUBUISSON for a supply of provisions, and remained here all night, and, next morning, we set off before daylight, and descended the river to *New Orleans*, where we remained eight days, waiting for a reply from M. DE BIENVILLE, who was absent, and sent word to

1718. M. PAILLOUX to conclude a peace with them, on the following terms:—

1st. That we should not restore the slaves which we had taken during the war; but that they should deliver up all the French whom they had captured, or who might be found in their villages.

2d. That they should abandon the villages where they now reside, and establish themselves upon the *Mississippi* river, in a place designated for them, one league above the concession of M. PARIS DU VERNAY.

They accepted these terms, which they faithfully fulfilled; and, in fifteen days after, they came with their families, cattle, and effects, to the place designated for them. Before leaving the city, M. PAILLOUX distributed among them the presents set apart by M. DE BIENVILLE, with which they were highly pleased.

This arrangement with the *Chetimaches* was the cause of other changes being made among the Indian tribes, who came afterwards to settle on the banks of the *Mississippi*. Among the first were the *Chaouachas*, who dwelt about twenty leagues from the river, who came and established themselves three leagues above *New Orleans*, on the right bank ascending. The *Colapissas*, who inhabited the northern shore of *Lake Pontchartrain*, also crossed over to the banks of the *Mississippi*, and settled thirteen leagues above *New Orleans*. Those nations are very industrious, and have been of great service to our colonists.

CHAPTER XIV.



ON the 17th of March, 1719, the ship of 1719.

war, *le Comte de Toulouse*, arrived at *Dauphine Island*, with one hundred passengers, among whom was M. DE LARCHEBAULT, director-general. On the 24th, M. DE ST. DENIS arrived from Mexico,

where he went, two years before, to recover his merchandize, which had been seized by Don Senor RAIMOND, a captain in the service of the Viceroy of Mexico. The Marquis of VALERO, who had succeeded the Duke DE LINAREZ, received him courteously, and promised they should be restored, which was done; but, soon after, Don MARTIN D'ALACORNE, Captain-General of the province of *Lastekas* (Texas), reported that he had passed through the province without reporting himself; that the merchandize did not belong to him, and that he was a suspicious character. The Viceroy ordered him, therefore, to be immediately arrested, and confined in prison, until some of his wife's relations hearing of it, assisted him to make his escape from Mexico.

1719. On the 19th of April, the ships *Maréchal de Villars*, *Count de Toulouse*, and the *Phillip*, under the command of M. DE SÉRIGNY, the brother of M. DE BIENVILLE, arrived at *Dauphine Island*. They brought over M. M. VILLARDEAU, LE GAC, and L'ARCHEMBAULT, who succeeded M. DE RAGOEN, as directors, and one hundred and thirty colonists. Among the passengers were M. DE MONTPLAISIR, who came, with thirty persons, to establish a tobacco manufactory, and an Irish gentleman, who brought with him sixty men, to establish a concession on the *Ouachita River*, eight leagues above its mouth, in ascending from *Red River*, called the *St. Jerome*, or *Natchitoches*. M. CARTIER DE BEAUME, who had received the appointment of procureur-general to the colony, brought with him all his family, and thirty persons, to make a settlement on *Bayou Choupic* (*St. John's*), near the city of *New Orleans*. M. M. PELLERIN and BELLECOURT also came with a number of persons to make a settlement near the village of the *Natchez*, on the banks of the little river (*St. Catherine's*) which falls into the *Mississippi*. M. DE SÉRIGNY brought over on his ship a large number of soldiers and workmen, with two hundred and fifty negroes,* who were sent to *Dauphine Island*, and distributed among the concessions;

* This was the first large importation of Africans made into Louisiana; but, for several years afterwards, the Western Company continued to send from three to five hundred annually, to be distributed among the concessions, as they were the only labor that could stand the heat of the climate. It had been successfully employed by the English in *Carolina* and the West India Islands, in the cultivation of sugar, rice, and cotton. In order to regulate the treatment of slaves among the planters, the Governor (BIENVILLE) drew up a code of laws, especially in reference to them, which he promulgated in 1724. See "Black Code," published in First Series "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. III, pp. 89-94.

also the news that war had been declared by France, on the 9th of January, 1719, on the refusal of the King of Spain to sign the triple alliance. M. DE BIENVILLE immediately called a council of war, who agreed to make an attack on *Pensacola*, and notified the colonists to hold themselves in readiness for the expedition, and also sent messengers to all the Indians around *Mobile*. As soon as these orders were carried out, the governor, and his brother, M. DE CHATEAUGUÉ, repaired to *Mobile*, placed themselves at the head of eight hundred Frenchmen and Indians, and marched, by land, to *Pensacola*, while M. DE SÉRIGNY, with four ships, sailed for *Pensacola*, and invested it on the 14th of May. The Spaniards made but a slight resistance, and soon surrendered their fort on conditions, that all their arms, and munitions of war, cannon, balls, powder, muskets, and provisions, should remain in the fort.* The gov-

* The news of the surrender of *Pensacola* created a great sensation in Spain and Mexico. The Viceroy immediately dispatched a squadron of twelve ships of war, carrying eight hundred and fifty men, under the command of Don ALPHONSO CARRASCOSA, to invest the town; and, at sight of the Spanish fleet entering the harbor, a part of the garrison deserted, which compelled the commander to surrender without firing a gun. After this victory, the Viceroy of Mexico (the Marquis of VALLERO), resolved to drive the French out of Louisiana, and dispatched a fleet, under the command of Don CARRASCOSA to attack *Mobile* and *Dauphine Island*, but, finding the brave M. DE SÉRIGNY, who commanded the forts and troops on that island, prepared to receive his attack, after a few days' bombardment, abandoned the enterprise, and returned to *Pensacola*, and M. DE BIENVILLE again invested *Pensacola* by land, and the brave Count DE CHAMPMESLIN, with his fleet, attacked it by sea. The French frigates poured a brisk cannonade into the Spanish fleet, and, in a short time, they surrendered. M. DE BIENVILLE, in the meantime, attacked the town, captured it, and took twelve hundred men prisoners of war, dismantled the fortifications, and returned to *Mobile*. The contest was now over. Peace was declared on the 17th of February, 1720, and the contending parties laid down their arms in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, and *Pensacola* again became a part of the Spanish possessions in North America.

1719. ernor then returned to *Mobile*, and left M. DE CHATEAUGUÉ in command, with three hundred Frenchmen. The Indian allies were sent home with presents, and M. M. DE BIENVILLE and SÉRIGNY sailed back in the *Maréchal de Villars*, commanded by the Chevalier DE GRIEUX, with the rest of the troops, in transports, to *Mobile* and *Dauphine Island*. The war continued to rage between France and Spain, and the province in Louisiana became involved in hostilities with the settlements of the Spaniards in the Gulf of Mexico. M. DE CHATEAUGUÉ held possession of *Pensacola* but a short time, when a powerful Spanish armament appeared before the city, and compelled him to surrender. They afterwards blockaded *Dauphine Island* with a large squadron, and made an attempt to land, but M. DE BIENVILLE had foreseen this event, and provided against it, by erecting batteries, and sending for his Indian allies to come to his assistance. M. DE ST. DENIS being at *Biloxi*, brought over a great number, and many also came from the concessions on the *Mississippi* river, so that the Spaniards, during the twelve consecutive days they made an attempt to land on the island, were repulsed. A Spanish gun-boat landed at a place in *Mobile Bay*, called *Miragouin*, where they plundered a quantity of merchandize, but, returning a second time to the place, a party of *Mobile* Indians attacked them and slew thirty of the Spaniards, and took seventeen prisoners, whom they took to *Mobile* and clubbed to death, and threw their bodies into the bay. The Spaniards, now finding their enterprise unsuccessful, returned to *Pensacola*. On the 6th of June, two ships, the *Duke of Maine*, and *Aurora*, arrived at *Ship Island*, from the coast of Guinea, with five hundred negroes,

who were sold to the concessionaires. On the 1st of September, the King's squadron, of four ships of the line, commanded by M. DE CHAMPMESLIN, consisting of the *Hercules* of sixty guns, the *Mars* of fifty-six guns, the *Triton* of fifty-four guns, and the *Union* of forty-eight guns, besides, a smaller vessel arrived in the roads, off *Dauphine Island*, which brought eight hundred and thirty men and officers to remain in Louisiana. He immediately notified M. DE SÉRIGNY, who commanded the forces on the island, to assemble his troops. On the 2d, M. M. DE SÉRIGNY, DE VILLARDEAU, and LE GAC, repaired on board the admiral's ship, and, after several conferences, it was agreed to attack *Pensacola* before the Spanish squadron from *Vera Cruz* could reach there.

M. DE SÉRIGNY immediately advised Governor BIENVILLE of the plan of the French admiral to attack that city, and to assemble his troops, and march by land to assist in the siege. On the 15th, the squadron set sail for *Pensacola*, and, on the same day, the governor set out for *Perdido Bay*, in a shallop, where four or five hundred Indians had assembled, under the command of M. DE ST. DENIS, who took up their march on the arrival of the governor. On the next day, they invested the fort at *Pensacola*, and, at the same time, M. DE CHAMPMESLIN entered the port. The forts kept up a brisk firing, but when he arrived before the large fort, it offered no resistance, and surrendered. The commander of the Spanish squadron, soon after, went on board the admiral's ship, and surrendered his sword, which was courteously returned him; but the Spanish Governor of *Mata-moras*, who went on board, was not so courteously treated.

1719. He was immediately disarmed by a sailor, for which he was reprimanded by the French commander. M. DE CHAMPMESLIN finding but fifteen days' provisions in the place, immediately shipped the Spanish prisoners to *Havana*, so as to economize the provisions, and to recompense the Indians for their services, he permitted them to plunder the two forts, after which, they were totally dismantled. M. DE ST. DENIS gave an entertainment to the admiral and officers of the French squadron, before whom he made the Indians exhibit their war dances. He addressed them in their own language, and exhorted them to remain faithful to the French. After this, M. DE CHAMPMESLIN distributed among them numerous presents, with which they were delighted. M. M. DE BIENVILLE and DE ST. DENIS returned thanks to their Indian allies, and, afterwards, set out for *Mobile* and *Dauphine Island*. As the forts at *Pensacola* were now demolished, and it was only a frontier post, they only left a sergeant's guard there, to give notice of the approach of vessels from sea. On the 16th, M. DE CHAMPMESLIN ordered his squadron to get ready to sail, and, on the 27th, after firing a salute, they put to sea. On the next day, they anchored off *Dauphine Island*, and, on the 29th, the squadron set sail for France, followed by the *Maréchal de Villars*, and the *Comte de Toulouse*. A few days after, the transport ship *Maria* arrived at *Dauphine Island*, with PHILIP FRANCIS RENAULT, son of PHILIP RENAULT, of *Consobre*, France, and two hundred and fifty miners, together with several companies of soldiers, ammunition, and merchandize, for the colony. The captain also brought letters to M. DE BIENVILLE, with

instructions to order a number of flat-bottomed boats to be built, to convey a large number of persons to the mines in the Illinois, as soon as they arrived. 1719.

In October, the ship *Two Brothers*, commanded by Sieur FRERET, arrived at *Ship Island*, with a number of Germans, loaded with every kind of merchandize and implements of agriculture, which were removed to *New Biloxi*. This was the first instalment of twelve thousand Germans purchased by the Western Company, from one of the princes of Germany, to colonize Louisiana. By this ship, M. DE CHATEAUGUÉ received the appointment of lieutenant of the King, M. DIRON D'ARTAGUETTE, inspector-general, and M. PAILLOUX, major-general. They also received the news that the Eastern and Western Companies were united in one, by an edict, dated 12th of May, 1719. M. D'ARTAGUETTE was ordered, by the governor, to remove the colony from *Dauphine Island* and *New Biloxi*, to the *Mississippi*, as it was impossible to improve the sterile lands of the coast. On the 22d of November, M. DU TISSENET wrote M. DE BIENVILLE a letter from *Caskaskias*, giving an account of his expedition to the villages of the *Osages* and the *Panis* (*Pawnees*). He described the country as beautiful and well timbered, and that the two rivers from the west, the *Osage* and *Blue Rivers*, emptied into the *Missouri*. In travelling west, he crossed a great many streams that fell into the *Missouri*. The *Osages**

* From the earliest times, the principal part of the great *Osage* nation have lived on the *Osage River*, and were well known to the French. They are now divided into the *Great* and *Little Osage* nation. Their primitive name is *Bar-har-cha*, and are also known as the *Wa-waha*, *Huz-zau*, or *Ouſ*, about the *Arkansas* and *Osage Rivers*. The *Little Osage* nation formerly resided on the south-west side of the *Missouri River*,

1719. are stout, well made, and great warriors, and lead mines are abundant in their country. The distance from the *Osage* villages to the *Panis* (*Pawnees*)* villages is more than forty leagues, in a north-west direction, and he had to pass over prairies filled with the buffalo; and, in fifteen days from thence, he reached the *Padoucas*,† also a brave and warlike nation. Here M.

near the mouth of *Grand River*, but, being reduced by continual wars, they were compelled to seek protection in the *Great Osage* nation, with whom they now reside. They are a remarkably tall and manly-looking race, erect and well proportioned. Their complexion is between an olive and copper color, with noses large and aquiline. They are fond of dress, wear ornaments in their ears and on their arms, and gracefully cover their shoulders with a buffalo robe, and wear moccasins and leggins. They are next to the *Sioux* in population, and are a remarkably brave people. A MS. vocabulary of their language, by Dr. MURRAY, is deposited in the American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*. VICTOR TEXIER has published a glossary of their language in his "*Voyage aux Prairies Osage en Louisiane et Missouri*," *Paris*, 1844;" "*Reise des Prinzen Maximilian zu Weide in Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 637; J. S. VATER's "*Analekten, der Sprachenkunde*," pp. 53-62; BALBI's "*Atlas Ethnographique*," Tab. 41; "*Archæologia Americana*," Vol. II, pp. 305-367; TONTY's "*Memoir Addressed to the French Government*;" "*Historical Collections of Louisiana*," Vol. I, pp. 52-80.

* The *Panis* (*Pawnees*), formerly a numerous and warlike nation, now reside on the *Platte*, *Kansas*, and *Arkansas* rivers. They were divided into three bands, and carried on a brisk trade in buffalo robes with the French and Spaniards. They pass most of their time on the prairies in hunting buffalo. See SAY's Vocabulary, p. 42; GAL-LATIN's Synopsis, in "*Archæologia Americana*," Vol. II, p. 305; "Transactions of the American Ethnological Society," Vol. II; BALBI's "*Atlas Ethnographique*," Tab. 41; "*Reise des Prinzen Maximilian zu Weide*," Vol. II, pp. 630-632; "*Historical Collections of Louisiana*," First Series, Vol. III, pp. 59-62.

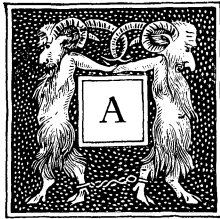
† The *Padouca* Indians, in the early settlement of New Mexico, were a powerful and numerous nation, but had almost disappeared when the French came to Louisiana. They laid claim to a large tract of country (according to DE L'ISLE's map of 1712, drawn up from original memoirs and narratives of early explorers in the country east of the *Rio Bravo del Norte*) now included in Texas and New Mexico. They lived in great villages, on the head-waters of the *Arkansas*, *Red River*, and the *Colorado*, and could, at that time, bring into the field upwards of two thousand mounted men. They were a formidable enemy to DE SOTO and MOSCOSO, in attempting to reach the *Rio*

DU TISSENET took possession of the country, and erected a column, with the arms of the King placed upon it, 27th of September, 1719.

Bravo del Norte. They seem to have given their name to one of the branches of the *Missouri*, which is still called the *Padouca* fork, and to a flourishing town on the *Ohio* river, below the mouth of the *Tennessee*. They were the Arabs of the plains, and being constantly at war with other nations, they became very much reduced in numbers. Most of them removed to the upper part of the river *Platte*, where they had but little intercourse with other tribes. They afterwards divided into small bands, which took the names of the sub-divisions of the *Padouca* nation, and are now known only under the appellation of *Wetepahatoes*, *Kiarwas*, and *Kattekas*, who still inhabit the country over which the *Padoucas* wandered. Previous to the visits of the French among them, they had no fire-arms, but fought on horseback, with shields, and bows, and arrows. They visited the Spanish mining settlements in New Mexico, on the *Rio Grande*, and exchanged their buffalo robes and peltries for gold and silver coin, of which they knew the use, and also for gold and silver ornaments for their arms and necks, to which they were appended with silver chains. They had a great attachment for the French, with whom they made several treaties, and preferred them to the Spanish. They exhibited nothing barbarous, or cruel, in their disposition, but were kind and magnanimous. Their religion, manners, and customs, were similar to the other tribes of the west. They believed in a *Great Spirit*, and future state of reward and punishment. When a *Padouca* chief died, he was buried in a mound, or on the summit of a high hill, in a sitting posture, with a buffalo robe thrown around him. After death, the relatives and friends of the chief would assemble, every morning and evening, to howl and lament his loss, and the women would crop their hair, as a token of their mourning. They believed that, after death, they would go to the spirit world, where there was plenty of buffalo, and where they would be supremely happy. No vocabulary exists of this once-powerful nation. A few words only have been noted by writers on Indian languages. See B. SMITH BARTON'S "Comparative Vocabularies;" T. SAY'S "Vocabularies of Indian Languages;" BALBI'S "*Atlas Ethnographique*;" J. S. VATER'S "*Analekten der Sprachenkunde*," Leipzig, 1821; "Mithridates," Vol. III, p. 304.

CHAPTER XV.

1720.



FTER peace had been concluded between France and Spain, there arrived at *Ship Island*, in February, 1720, over five hundred emigrants, who were distributed among the concessions, with great promises of wealth held out to them, to induce further emigration. M. HUBERT, the director-general of the province, now abandoned his residence near *New Orleans*, and went, with all his family, and sixty laborers and domestics, whom he had brought with him from France, to locate himself on land at the *Natchez*. On his arrival there, he, and all his family, took lodgings with M. DE LA LOIRE DES URSINS, director of the company. The next day, he loaded one of his largest batteaux with merchandize and ammunition, and dispatched it to M. PIERRE DUGUÉ DE BOISBRIANT at the *Illinois*. After he had rested himself, he visited the lands on the borders of the little *Natchez River* (*St. Catherine's*), where he located his concession, and erected a large dwelling-house. The land was about a league from *Fort Rosalie*, and extended into the prairies, which he ploughed up, and sowed with French wheat. He afterwards

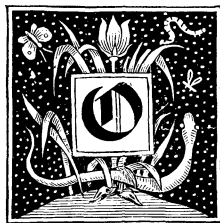
erected a grist-mill, a forge, and machine shops, to manufacture arms and agricultural implements. He allowed M. DE 1720.
 MONTPLAISIR to locate himself also on land about a league from his own, for the purpose of planting tobacco, which succeeded admirably after the first year. On their route up the river, they met with M. DE LA HARPE, who was descending the *Mississippi* from the *Cadodaquioux*, on *Red River*, where he had been to establish his concession. He had previously visited this country, in 1719, and built a fort on the right bank of *Red River* (*Natchitoches*), in latitude $33^{\circ} 55'$, as a sign of the jurisdiction of France, which he named *Fort St. Louis de Carlorette*. Having now nothing to fear from the Spaniards, he believed it to be to the interest of the Western Company to explore the country which had been pointed out to him, to the west and southwest, and, by this means to effect an entrance, by treating with the Indians, into New Mexico. He had visited the principal chiefs of the *Heitans* (southern *Comanches*), *Tankaways*, *Tachies*, and *Assinais*,* who still lived in a state of nature, and

* These tribes still roam over the prairies of Texas to this day. With the exception of the *Dacotas* or *Sioux*, the *Comanches* are the most numerous and troublesome in that State. They are divided into three grand divisions, or tribes, and are designated as the *Tankaways*, *Yamparacks*, and *Comanches*, and these are again divided into smaller bands. The division known as the "*Southern Comanches*," permanently reside in Texas, and live by hunting and plunder. Their range extends from the *Red River* to the *Colorado*. They number about fifteen hundred warriors, and are constantly in the saddle. They never remain in the same place more than a few days, but follow the buffalo. They generally kill them with a spear, which they throw with unerring aim. They are good horsemen, and select them, for their fleetness, from droves of wild horses, which cover the plains. They have tents made of neatly-dressed buffalo-skins, fashioned in the form of a cone, sufficiently large to accommodate fifty or sixty persons. When they stop, they pitch them in exact order, so as to form squares and streets, which have the appearance of a town.

1720. by hunting, used the buffalo-skin for a covering. In general, he found them much more athletic and better formed than those tribes living on the *Mississippi* river.

Their native language, in sound, differs from the language of any other nation, and no one can easily learn to speak it. They have also a language of signs, by which they converse among themselves. They are also called *Hietans*, *Jetans*, and *Padoucas*. A *Comanche* vocabulary has been collected by the Hon. J. R. BARTLETT, also by J. CHISHOLM, a *Cherokee*, and by R. S. NEIGHBOURS. Colonel MARCY also collected a vocabulary in his expedition to the *Red River* country. Dr. H. BERGHAUS' "*Über die Verwandtschaft der Schoschonen, Komantshen, und Apachen in: Physikalischer Atlas; Geographisches Jahr buch*," 1851.

CHAPTER XVI.



ON the 3d of January, 1721, the ships *La* 1721.

Gironde and *La Volage* arrived at *Ship Island* with about three hundred persons for the concessions of M. LE BLANC and Count BELLEVILLE, on the *Yazoo River*, and Mme. MÈZIERES, on the

Bay of St. Louis, and Mme. CHAUMONT, on *Pascagoula Bay*. On the 5th, the ship *La Baleine* also arrived with a number of passengers, and eighty young women, who were sent over at the request of the directors, who thought it was impossible to make a solid establishment without them. They were selected by the bishop from one of the public institutions of *Paris*, and had been brought up and educated there from their childhood. They were placed by him under the charge of three nuns—Sisters GERTRUDE, LOUISE, and BERGERE. Each one was provided with a marriage outfit, and was not to marry without the consent of Sister GERTRUDE. In a short time after their arrival, they were disposed of to good advantage, with a request from the colonists, that the company would continue their favors. On the 7th, the ship *Seine* arrived, with sixty persons, for the

1721. concession of the Marquis D'ANCENIS, at the *Houmas*. A few days after, the governor dispatched M. DE LA HARPE, in an armed vessel, to the river *Madeline*, with soldiers, workmen, merchandize, and provisions, to make a settlement, and build a fort on that river.* On arriving there, he found a large body of natives entrenched on its banks, and opposed to his landing, although he assured them, through an interpreter, that he came there to be their friends. They replied, that they were satisfied with their condition, and did not wish to make any alliance. At length, he prevailed upon some of them to go with him to *Biloxi*, to see the governor, who made them some presents, and afterwards returned to their homes.

On the 3d of February, the frigate *La Mutine*, commanded by the Sieur DE MARTONNE, arrived at *Ship Island*, with three hundred and forty-seven Swiss troops, who were distributed among the different posts.† By this ship, M. DE BIENVILLE received a letter, which had been written by the Western Company, on the 31st of October, 1720, informing him that "It was with regret they had heard of a disagreement between him

* Probably the *Sabine*, which now divides the States of Texas and Louisiana. See "*Carte de la Louisiane, 1712, dressé sur un grand nombre de Memoire par Guillaume de l'Isle de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*," in "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. II. Philadelphia, 1850.

† At this period, Louisiana was divided into nine civil and military posts, or districts, viz.: *Biloxi*, *Mobile*, *Alibamons*, *Natchez*, *Yasos*, *Natchitoches*, *New Orleans*, *Arkansas*, and *Illinois*, over which a commander and a judge was appointed, and three ecclesiastical districts. The first was entrusted to the Capuchins, and extended from the mouth of the *Mississippi* to the *Illinois*; the second, the Carmelites, whose jurisdiction extended from *Mobile* to the *Alibamons*; and the third, to the Jesuits, whose jurisdiction extended over the immense territory washed by the *Ohio*, *Illinois*, *Mississippi*, and its tributaries.

and the director-general of the company, and that the King 1721.
believed him to be in fault. It was, however, contemplated to appoint another director, which they hoped would prevent any future disagreement in regard to the government of the province." M. LE BLANC, minister-of-war, wrote him, also, at the same time, another letter of the same purport, which so chagrined him, that he immediately wrote, in reply, that the condition of the affairs of the province was not his fault, but he hoped the new appointment of a director would make everything work better. The governor also received news from France of the failure of the great financier and banker, JOHN LAW, the controller-general of finances of France, who had left the kingdom.*

On the 14th of February, the frigate *Maréchal d'Estrees* arrived at *Ship Island*, with one hundred and seventy-five negro men, women, and children, from Africa, who were landed at

* The failure of LAW's financial scheme fell heavily upon Louisiana. The rapid expansion of the circulating medium throughout the province during the first three years of his banking operations in France, and the consequent sudden prostration of all business in Louisiana, brought ruin upon the province, and checked its advancement. The remote settlements in upper and lower Louisiana were, in a great measure, deserted by the starving colonists, and, from time to time, they returned to France, or made settlements nearer *New Orleans*. The extensive grant of M. LAW on the *Arkansas River*, principally settled by Germans, was soon deserted; and, to induce them not to leave the province, land was allotted to them on both sides of the *Mississippi* above *New Orleans*, which, to this day, is known as the *German Coast* of Louisiana. Concerning the *modus operandi* of LAW's celebrated financial system, which brought ruin on France as well as Louisiana, as a whole, consult the works of LAW; DUTOR's "*Reflexions politiques sur les finances et le commerce. Histoire du Système des Finances en 1719-1720*;" LOUIS BLANC's "*Histoire de la Revolution française*," Vol. I, Book II, Chap. VII, which is an eloquent panegyric on the system and its author; A. THIERS' (the French historian) memoir of LAW and the *Mississippi* bubble, which is one-sided and partial; FORBONNAIS' "*Recherches et considerations sur les finances des France*."

1721. *Biloxi*, and afterwards distributed among the concessions and inhabitants of *New Orleans*. On the 17th, the frigate *l'Africane*, and, on the 23d, the frigate *Le Duc de Maine* arrived, with over six hundred negroes, which were distributed among the concessionaires (grantees), and sent up the *Mississippi* river to the concessions. M. DE PAUGER, the engineer, who had returned from the mouth of the *Mississippi* river, reported that he had found a bar of soft mud across one of its mouths, which was formed by the meeting of the tide of the sea and current of the river, which is here very sluggish, and proposed to establish a fort on the island,* at the *Belize*, where large ships could anchor in safety.

M. HUBERT, desiring to resign his office and return to France, sold his concession (grant) of land at the *Natchez* to M. DUMANOIR, who purchased it for M. COLIS, and retained the workmen upon it on the same terms paid by M. HUBERT. On the 24th of May, M. DUGUÉ DE BOISBRIANT, commandant at the *Illinois*, wrote to M. DE BIENVILLE, that he had been informed that three hundred Spaniards had left *Santa Fé*, New Mexico, for the purpose of driving the French out of Louisiana, but they were attacked by the *Osage* and *Panis* Indians, and driven back to *Santa Fé*. On the 25th, the ships *La Baleine*, *La Gironde*, *Le Duc de Maine*, and *l'Africaine*, sailed for France. A number of passengers returned to France on the *Baleine*, among whom was Sister GERTRUDE, who was so much pleased

* This island was called *Toulouse*, on which M. DE BIENVILLE afterwards ordered a fort to be built, which is now about three miles from the mouth of the *Mississippi*, showing, in the last hundred and fifty years, a gradual encroachment of land upon the Gulf of Mexico.

with finding husbands for so many young women, that she promised those who could not obtain a wife, to return soon again on the same mission.* 1721.

On the 15th of July, the frigate *La Venus*, commanded by M. DUMOULEN, arrived at *Ship Island*, with M. DUVERGIER, director-general, M. DE LA HARPE, and M. DE LA GRAVE, director of the concessions of M. LE MARQUIS DE MÈZIERES. She also brought the Cross of St. Louis for M. M. DE CHATEAUGUÉ and DE BOISBRIANT.

It was, at this period, the author of these annals was attacked with inflammation of the eyes, and partially lost his sight, and, having tried every means to effect a cure, he was advised by the governor-general of the province, M. DE BIENVILLE, to go to France for medical treatment. He, accordingly, took his passage on board the ship *Maréchal d'Estrees*, and sailed for France on the 6th of October, 1721.†

* We do not hear of Sister GERTRUDE again; but an agreement was subsequently entered into with the Ursuline nuns of *Paris*, and the Company of the Indies, in 1727, to come to *New Orleans*, to reside permanently, for a different purpose. They agreed to take charge of the Charity Hospital, and establish a convent for the instruction of females. This ancient building was occupied for more than a century, when a more splendid and commodious convent was erected, three miles below the city, on the bank of the river, where every branch of female education is well taught. See First Series "Historical Collections," Vol. III, pp. 79-83.

† As we hear no more of M. PENICAUT after he arrived in France, it is probable that he died there under medical treatment. The "Annals of Louisiana," which he left behind in manuscript, found its way into the King's library, and is an important record of what took place in that country for more than twenty years after the arrival of the expedition of D'IBERVILLE. CHARLEVOIX refers to it in his travels in New France as a work of merit, and affording him important information which he could not obtain elsewhere.

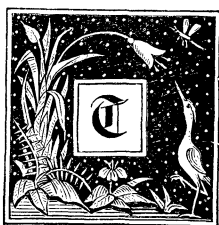
1721. To all those who read these "Annals," it will appear that GOD, in his wisdom, had designed Louisiana for the French, to show forth the power of the holy Catholic religion, and to establish a French empire in America, where the glory of his most Christian Majesty might be displayed. GOD was wearied with the exhibition of the unheard-of cruelties of the natives, which they inflicted on each other in their wars, and he wished to place Christian rulers over them to arrest their wickedness. Since, therefore, we cannot but recognize the hand of GOD in what he has done in Louisiana, we will now close these "Annals" in the language of the prophet:—

"Blessed be the name of the Lord our God who alone has done all these wonderful works; may his name be praised for ever and ever; and may the whole earth be filled with his Glory."

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
RELATING TO THE
FIRST DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT
OF
FLORIDA,
WITH HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

History
OF THE
FIRST ATTEMPT OF THE FRENCH
(*The Huguenots*)
TO
COLONIZE THE NEWLY DISCOVERED COUNTRY OF
FLORIDA.
BY RÉNÉ LAUDONNIÈRE.

INTRODUCTION.



THAT part of the earth which we, at this day, call the fourth part of the world, in America, is rather the West Indies, was unknown unto our ancestors, by reason of the great distance thereof. In like manner, all the Western Islands and Fortunate Isles, were not discovered but by those of our age. Howbeit, there have been

1562.

NOTE.—This “History of the First Attempt of the French (the Huguenots) to Colonize the Newly Discovered Country of Florida,” was translated by RICHARD HAKLUYT, in his quaint English, from a work entitled, “*Histoire notable de la Floride située en Indes occidentales ; contenant les troys voyages faits icelles par certains capitaines*”

1562. some which have said that they were discovered in the time of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and that VIRGIL hath made mention, thereof, in the first book of his “Æneid,” when he saith, “*there is a land beyond the stars, and the course of the year and of the sun, where Atlas, the porter of heaven, sustaineth the pole upon his shoulders.*” Nevertheless, it is easy to judge that he meaneth not to speak of this land, whereof no man is found to have written before his time, neither yet above a thousand years after. CHRISTOPHER COLON did first light upon this land in the year 1492; and, five years after, AMERICUS went thither, by the command of the King of Castile, and gave unto it his own name, whereupon, afterward, it was called America.* This man was very well seen in the art of navigation and in astronomy, whereby he

et pilotes François décrits par le Capitaine RENÉ LAUDONNIÈRE, qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois mois; à laquelle à esté adjousté un quatrième voyage par le Capitaine GOURGUES. Mise en lumière par MARTINE BASANIER. Paris, 1586. “The translation of this history into English,” says the old chronicler and antiquarian, ANTHONY WOOD, author of “*Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*,” “is an honor to the realm of England, because, possibly, many ports and islands in America that are bare and barren, and only bear a name for the present, may prove rich places in future time.”

If the old antiquarian could now but throw off the cerements of the grave, and behold the forty millions of prosperous and independent people of different races who fill the sea-ports, islands, cities, towns, and country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores of the North American continent, he might, indeed, claim the credit of being a prophet, which no one would dispute.

* The first land discovered by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in 1492, was the Island of San Salvador (*Guanahani*), one of the West India group. It was not until his third voyage, in 1498, that he discovered the main-land of the continent of South America, one year after the CABOTS had coasted the shores of the North American continent, and explored Newfoundland. In 1501, AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS discovered the main-land of the South American continent, and, in 1512, JUAN PONCE DE LEON discovered Florida, which he took possession of in the name of the Castilian sovereigns. See GOMARA's “*Hist. de las Indias Occidentales*,” Chap. 45, p. 32.

discovered, in his time, many lands unknown unto the ancient geographers. This country is named, by some, the land of Brazil, and the land of Parots. It stretcheth itself, according unto POSTELL, from the one pole to the other, saving at the Straits of Magellan, whereunto it reacheth fifty-three degrees beyond the Equator. 1562.

I will divide it, for the better understanding, into three principal parts; that which is toward the pole, Artic, or the north is called New France, because, that in the year 1524, JOHN VERRAZZANO, a Florentine, was sent, by King FRANCIS I, and by Madam the Regent, his mother, unto these new regions, where he went on land and discovered all the coast which is from the Tropic of Cancer, to wit: from the eight-and-twentieth unto the fiftieth degree, and farther unto the north. He planted, in this country, the ensigns and arms of the King of France; so that the Spaniards themselves, which were there afterward, have named this country Terra Francesca. The same then extendeth itself in latitude from the twenty-fifth degree unto the fifty-fourth, toward the north, and in longitude from 210 unto 330. The eastern part, thereof, is called, by the late writers, "The land of Norumbega," which beginneth at the *Bay of Gama*, which separateth it from the *Isle of Canada*, whither JACQUES CARTIER sailed the year 1535. About the which there are many islands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador, stretching toward Greenland. In the western part, there are many known countries, as the regions of *Quivira*, *Civola*, *Astatlan*, and *Terlichichmici*. The southern part is called Florida, because it was discovered on Palm-Sunday, which the

1562. Spaniards call Pascha Florida. The northern part is altogether unknown.

The second part of all America is called New Spain. It extendeth from the Tropic of Cancer, in twenty-three degrees and a half, unto the ninth degree. In the same is situated the city of *Themistitan*; and it hath many regions, and many islands adjoined unto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the most famous and renowned are *Hispaniola* and *Isabella*, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the islands aforesaid, have not in longitude past seventy degrees, to wit: from the two hundred and fortieth unto three hundred and ten; it is also long and narrow, as Italy.

The third part of America is called Peru. It is very great, and extendeth itself in latitude from the tenth degree unto the fifty-third, beyond the Equator, to wit, as I have before said, unto the Straits of Magellan. It is made in fashion like an egg, and is very well known upon all sides. The part where it is largest hath three-score degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the ends. In one part of this land, VILLEGAGNON planted right under the Tropic of Capricorn, and he called it France-Antarctic, because it draweth toward the Antarctic, as our France doth to the Arctic.

New France is almost as great as all our Europe. Howbeit, the most known and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen have made divers voyages at sundry times, insomuch that now it is the best known country which is in all this part of New France. The cape, thereof, is, as it were, a long head of land, stretching out into the sea an hundred

1562.

leagues, and runneth directly toward the south. It hath, right over against it, five-and-twenty leagues distant, the *Isle of Cuba*, otherwise called *Isabella*; toward the east, the *Isles of Bahama* and *Lucaya*, and, toward the west, the Bay of Mexico. The country is flat, and divided with divers rivers, and, therefore, moist, and is sandy toward the sea shore. There groweth, in those parts, great quantity of pine trees, which have no kernels in the apples which they bear. Their woods are full of oak, walnuts, black cherry trees, mulberry trees, lentisks and chestnut trees, which are more wild than those in France. There is great store of ceders, cypresses, bays, palm trees, hollys, and wild vines, which climb up along the trees, and bear good grapes. There is a kind of medlars, the finest whereof is better than that of France, and bigger. There are also plum trees, which bear very fair fruit, but, such as is, not very good. There are *raspasses*, and a little berry, which we call among us, blues, which are very good to eat. There grow, in that country, a kind of root, which they call, in their language, *bazez*, whereof, in necessity, they make bread. There is also there the tree called *esqume*, which is very good against the small-pox, and other contagious diseases. The beasts best known in this country are—stags, hinds, goats, deer, leopards, dunces, lucerns, divers sorts of wolves, wild dogs, hares, cunnies, and a certain kind of beast that differeth little from the lion of Africa. The fowls are—turkeycocks, partridges, parrots, pigeons, ringdoves, turtles, blackbirds, crows, tarcels, falcons, layuerds, herons, cranes, storks, wild geese, malards, cormorants, hernshaws—white, red, black, and gray—and an infinite sort of all wild fowl.

1562. There is such abundance of crocodiles, that oftentimes, in swimming, men are assailed by them; of serpents, there are many sorts. There is found, among the savages, good quantity of gold and silver, which is gotten out of the ships that are lost upon the coast, as I have understood by the savages themselves. They use traffic, thereof, one with another. And that which maketh me the rather believe it, is, that on the coast toward the cape, where commonly the ships are cast away, there is more store of silver than towards the north. Nevertheless, they say, that in the mountains of *Appalatcy*, there are mines of copper, which I think to be gold. There is, also, in this country, great store of grains and herbs, whereof might be made excellent good dyes, and paintings of all kind of colors; and, in truth, the Indians, which take pleasure in painting of their skins, know very well how to use the same. The men are of an olive color, of great stature, fair, without any deformity, and well-proportioned. They cover their privities with the skin of a stag, well dressed. The most part of them have their bodies, arms, and thighs, painted with very fair devices, the painting whereof can never be taken away, because the same is pricked into their flesh. Their hair is very black, and reacheth even down to their hips; howbeit, they truss it up after a fashion that becometh them very well. They are great dissemblers and traitors, valiant of their persons, and fight very well. They have none other weapons but their bows and arrows. They make the string of their bow of the gut of the stag, or of a stag's skin, which they know how to dress as well as any man in France, and with as different sorts of colors. They head

their arrows with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they work 1562.
very finely and handsomely. They exercise their young men to run well, and they make a game, among themselves, which he winneth that hath the longest breath. They also exercise themselves much in shooting; they play at the ball in this manner: they set up a tree in the midst of a place, which is eight or nine fathoms high, in the top whereof there is set a square mat, made of reeds, or bullrushes, which whosoever hitteth in playing thereat winneth the game. They take great pleasure in hunting and fishing. The kings of the country make war, one against another, which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men they can take; afterwards, they cut off their heads, to have their hair, which, returning home, they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. They save the women and children, and nourish them, and keep them always with them. Being returned home from the war, they assemble all their subjects, and, for joy, three days and three nights, they make good cheer, they dance and sing; likewise, they make the most ancient women of the country to dance, holding the hairs of their enemies in their hands, and, in dancing, they sing praises to the sun, ascribing unto him the honor of the victory. They have no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, saving of that which they see, as the sun and the moon. They have their priests, to whom they give great credit, because they are great magicians, great soothsayers, and callers upon devils. These priests serve them instead of physicians and chirurgians; they carry always about with them a bag full of herbs and drugs, to cure the sick diseased, which,

1562. for the most part, are sick of the pox, so they love women and maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the *Sun*, and some of them are sodomites. They marry, and every one hath his wife, and it is lawful for the king to have two or three, yet none but the first is honored and acknowledged for queen, and none but the children of the first wife inherit the goods and authority of the father. The women do all the business at home. They keep not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eat not of that which they touch as long as they have their flowers. There are, in all this country, many hermaphrodites, which take all the greatest pain, and bear the victuals when they go to war. They paint their faces much, and stick their hair full of feathers, or down, that they may seem more terrible. The victuals, which they carry with them, are of bread, of honey, and of meal, made of maize, parched in the fire, which they keep without being marred a long while. They carry, also, sometimes fish, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke. In necessity, they eat a thousand riffs, even to the swallowing down of coal, and putting sand into the pottage that they make with the meal.

When they go to war, their king marcheth first, with a club in one hand, and his bow in the other, with his quiver full of arrows. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterprize in hand, but first they assemble oftentimes their council together, and they take very good advisement before they grow to a resolution. They meet together every morning in a great common house, whither their king repaireth, and setteth him down upon a seat, which is

higher than the seats of the others; where all of them, one after another, come and salute him; and the most ancient begin their salutations, lifting up both their hands twice as high as their face, saying, "*Ha, he, ha!*" and the rest answer, "*Ah, ah!*" As soon as they have done their salutation, every man sitteth him down upon the seats which are round about in the house. If there be anything to entreat of, the king calleth the *lawas*, that is to say, their priests and the most ancient men, and asketh them their advice. Afterward, he commandeth *cassine* to be brewed, which is a drink made of the leaves of a certain tree. They drink this *cassine* very hot; he drinketh first, then he causeth to be given thereof to all of them, one after another, in the same bowl, which holdeth well a quart-measure of *Paris*. They make so great account of this drink, that no man may taste thereof, in this assembly, unless he hath made proof of his valor in the war. Moreover, this drink hath such a virtue, that, as soon as they have drank it, they become all in a sweat, which sweats being fast, it taketh away hunger and thirst for twenty four-hours after. When a king dieth, they bury him very solemnly, and, upon his grave, they set the cup wherein he was wont to drink; and round about the said grave, they stick many arrows, and weep and fast three days together, without ceasing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning; and, in token of the love which they bare him, they cut off more than the one half of their hair, as well men as women. During the space of six moons (so they reckon their months), there are certain women appointed which bewail the death of this king, crying, with a

1562. loud voice, thrice a day, to wit: in the morning, at noon, and at evening. All the goods of this king are put into his house, and, afterwards, they set it on fire, so that nothing is ever more after to be seen. The like is done with the goods of the priests; and, besides, they bury the bodies of their priests in their houses, and then they set them on fire. They sow their maize twice a year, to wit: in March and in June, and all in one and the same soil. The said maize, from the time that it is sowed until the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three months on the ground; the other six months, they let the earth rest. They have also fine pumpkins, and very good beans. They never dung their land, only when they would sow; they set the weeds on fire, which grow up the six months, and burn them all. They dig their ground with an instrument of wood, which is fashioned like a broad mattock, wherewith they dig their vines in France; they put two grains of maize together. When the land is to be sowed, the king commandeth one of his men to assemble his subjects every day to labor, during which labor the king causeth store of that drink to be made for them whereof we have spoken. At the time when the maize is gathered, it is all carried into a common house, where it is distributed to every man, according to his quality. They sow no more but that which they think will serve their turn for six months, and that very scarcely. For, during the winter, they retire themselves for three or four months in the year, into the woods, where they make little cottages of palm-boughs for their retreat, and live there of maste, of fish which they take, of disters, of stags, of turkeycocks, and other beasts which they take. They eat

all their meat broiled on the coals, and dressed in the smoke, which, in their language, they call *boucanet*. They eat, willingly, the flesh of the crocodile; and, indeed, it is fair and white, and, were it not that it savored too much like musk, we would oftentimes have eaten thereof. They have a custom among them, that when they find themselves sick where they feel the pain, whereas we cause ourselves to be let blood, their physicians suck them until they make the blood follow. The women are, likewise, of good proportion, tall, and of the same color that the men be of, painted as the men be; howbeit, when they are home, they be not so much of an olive color, and are far whiter. For the chief cause that maketh them to be of this color proceeds of annointings of oil which they use among them; and they do it for a certain ceremony which I could not learn, and because of the sun which shineth hot upon their bodies. The agility of the women is so great, that they can swim over the great rivers, bearing their children upon one of their arms. They climb up, also, very nimbly upon the highest trees in the country.

Behold, in brief, the description of the country, with the nature and customs of the inhabitants, which I was very willing to write, before I entered any further into the discourse of my history, to the end, that the readers might be better prepared to understand that which I mean, hereafter, to entreat of.

History

OF

JEAN RIBAUT'S FIRST VOYAGE

TO

FLORIDA.

BY RÉNÉ LAUDONNIÈRE.

CHAPTER I.



Gaspard de Coligny,* My Lord Ad- 1562.

miral of *Chastillon*, a nobleman more desirous of the public than of his private benefit, understanding the pleasure of the King, his prince, which was to discover new and strange countries, caused vessels, fit for his purpose, to be made ready, with all diligence, and men to be levied meet for such an enterprize; among

* GASPARD DE COLIGNY, Admiral of France, and one of the high officers of the Crown, in the reign of CHARLES IX, was born at *Chastillon sur Loing*, on the 16th of February, 1516. At the death of HENRY II, he espoused the cause of the Calvinists against the Guises, who represented the Roman Catholics of France; and, during the

1562. whom he chose Capt. JOHN RIBAUT, a man, in truth, expert in sea causes; which, having received his charge, set himself to sea the year 1562, the 18th of February, accompanied only with two of the King's ships, but so well furnished with gentlemen (of whose number I myself was one), and with old soldiers, that he had means to achieve some notable thing, and worthy of eternal memory. Having, therefore, sailed two months, never holding the usual course of the Spaniards, he arrived in Florida, landing near a cape or promontory, which is no high land, be-

religious civil war that drenched that country in blood, he distinguished himself as an able commander in the battles of *Dreux*, *St. Denis*, *Jarnac*, and *Montcontour*. Peace, at last, having put an end to the war, and anxious to settle the disputes between the Roman Catholics and the Calvinists (Huguenots), he presented a petition to the French monarch in behalf of the oppressed Calvinists, and obtained permission from him to plant a colony of them in Florida. He, accordingly, ordered an expedition of two ships to be fitted out, at the expense of the Crown, and gave the command of it to JOHN RIBAUT, a distinguished officer of the marine.

Accompanied by M. LAUDONNIÈRE—the historian of the expedition—and several of the young nobility of France, he set sail for Florida on the 18th of February, 1562, and arrived there in May. He was hailed with pleasure by the natives, took possession of the country, and planted a colony. COLIGNY now appeared at Court, and was regarded as the great peace-maker between the Catholics and the Protestants (Huguenots). The King, however, under the guise of great friendship, praised and flattered him, but, at the same time, perfidiously planned to have him assassinated, and secretly proposed to the Duke of GUISE to have all the Calvinists in France massacred. COLIGNY was the first who fell on the fatal day of St. Bartholomew, 24th of August, 1572. He was killed by a hired assassin, in his own house, his head cut off, and his body thrown out of the window into the court below, where it was insulted by the populace. His head was sent by CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, the Queen-mother, as a present to the Roman Pontiff, who approved of the massacre of the Protestants, and ordered a painting of it to be executed and hung up in the Vatican, over which the exultation was immense. Medals, representing the massacre, were struck off, and distributed among the populace, and sent to the courts of Europe. One of them represented Religion, placing a crown on the head of the King of France, who leaned upon a rudder-head, trampling heresy under foot, with this legend: "*Ob vicies centena millia Calvinianorum ad ecclesiam revocata MDCLXXXV.*"

cause the coast is all flat, but only rising, by reason of the high woods, which, at his arrival, he called *Cape Francis*, in honor of our France. This cape is distant from the Equator about thirty degrees. Coasting from this place towards the north, he discovered a very fair and great river, which gave him occasion to cast anchor, that he might search the same the next day, very early in the morning; which, being done by the break of day, accompanied with Capt. FIQUINVILLE, and divers other soldiers of his ship, he was no sooner arrived on the brink of the shore, but straight he perceived many Indians, men and women, which came of purpose to that place, to receive the Frenchmen with all gentleness and amity, as they well declared by the oration which their king made, and the presents of chamois-skins wherewith he honored our captain, who, the day following, caused a pillar of hard stone to be planted within the said river, and not far from the mouth of the same, upon a little sandy *knappe*, in which pillar the arms of France were carved and engraved.* This being done, he embarked himself again, to the end always to discover the coast toward the north, which was his chief desire. After he had sailed a certain time, he crossed once to the other side of the river, and then, in the presence of certain Indians, which of purpose did attend him, he commanded his men to make their prayers, to give thanks to God, for that of his grace he had conducted the French nation unto these strange places without any danger at all. The prayers being

1562.

* After a most diligent search—made by American antiquarians—for this engraved pillar, planted upon a hillock, at the mouth of the river *May*, it has not been found. It is probable that it was removed or destroyed by the Spaniards.

1562. ended, the Indians, which were very attentive to harken unto them, thinking, in my judgment, that we worshipped the sun, because we always had our eyes lifted up toward heaven, rose all up, and came to salute the captain (JOHN RIBAUT), promising to show him their king, which rose not up as they did, but remained still sitting upon green leaves of bay and palm trees, toward whom the captain went and sat down by him, and heard him make a long discourse, but with no great pleasure, because he could not understand his language, and much less his meaning. The king gave our captain, at his departure, a plume, or fan, of hernshaw feathers, dyed red, and a basket made of palm-boughs, after the Indian fashion, and wrought very artificially, and a great skin painted and drawn throughout with pictures of divers wild beasts—so lively drawn and portrayed, that nothing lacked but life. The captain, to show himself not unthankful, gave him pretty tin bracelets, a cutting-hook, a looking-glass, and certain knives, whereupon the king showed himself to be very glad, and fully contented.

Having spent the most part of the day with these Indians, the captain embarked himself to pass over to the other side of the river, whereat the king seemed to be very sorry. Nevertheless, not being able to stay us, he commanded that, with all diligence, they should take fish for us, which they did with all speed; for being entered into their *weares*, or inclosures, made of reeds, and framed in the fashion of a labyrinth, or maze, they loaded us with trout, great mullets, plaice, turbot, and marvellous store of other sorts of fishes, altogether different from ours. This done, we entered into our boats, and went toward

the other shore; but, before we came to the shore, we were 1562.
saluted with a number of other Indians, which, entering into the water to their armpits, brought us many little baskets full of maize, and goodly mulberries, both red and white. Others offered themselves to bear us on shore, where, being landed, we perceived their king, sitting upon a place dressed with boughs, and under a little arbor of cedars and bay trees, somewhat distant from the water side. He was accompanied with two of his sons, which were exceeding fair and strong, and with a troop of Indians, who had all their bows and arrows in marvellous good order. His two sons received our captain very graciously; but the king, their father, representing—I wot not what kind of gravity—did nothing but shake his head a little; then the captain went forward to salute him, and, without any other moving of himself, he retained so constant a kind of gravity, that he made it seem unto us that, by good and lawful right, he bare the title of king. Our captain knowing not what to judge of this man's behavior, thought he was jealous because we went first unto the other king, or else, that he was not well pleased with the pillar, or column, which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to think, our captain showed him, by signs, that he was come from a far country to seek him, to let him understand the amity which he was desirous to have with them; for the better confirmation whereof, he drew out of a budget certain trifles, as certain bracelets, covered, as it were, with silver and gold, which he presented him withal, and gave his sons certain other trifles, whereupon the king began, very lovingly, to entreat both our captain and us; and, after these gentle

1562. entertainments, we went ourselves into the woods, hoping there to discover some singularities, where were great store of mulberry trees, white and red, on the tops whereof there was an infinite number of silk-worms. Following our way, we discovered a fair and great meadow, divided, notwithstanding, with divers marshes, which constrained us, by reason of the water which environed it about, to return back again toward the river side. Finding not the king there, which by this time was gone home to his house, we entered into our boats, and sailed toward our ships, where, after we arrived, we called this river the *River of May*, because we discovered it the first day of the said month.

Soon after we returned to our ships, we weighed anchor, and hoisted our sails, to discover the coast further forward, along the which we discovered another fair river, which the captain himself was minded to search out, and having searched it out with the king and inhabitants thereof, he named it *Seine*, because it is very like unto the river of *Seine*, in France. From this river, we returned unto our ships, where, being arrived, we trimmed our sails to sail further toward the north, and to descry the singularities of the coast. But we had not sailed any great way before we discovered another very fair river, which caused us to cast anchor over against it, and to trim our two boats to go to search it out. We found there an isle, and a king no less affable than the rest; afterward, we named this river, *Somme*. From thence we sailed about six leagues, after we discovered another river, which, after we had viewed, was named by us by the name of *Loire*; and, consequently, we there discovered five

others, whereof the first was named *Charente*; the second, *Garonne*; the third, *Gironde*; the fourth, *Belle*; the fifth, *Grande**— which, being very well discovered, with such things as were in them, by this time in less than the space of three-score leagues, we had found out many singularities along nine rivers. Nevertheless, not fully satisfied, we sailed yet further toward the north, following the course that might bring us to the *River of Jordan*, one of the fairest of the rivers of the north, and, holding our wonted course, great fogs and tempests came upon us, which constrained us to leave the coast, to bear toward the main sea, which was the cause that we lost the sights of our pinnaces a whole day and a night, until the next day, in the morning, which time the weather being fair and the sea calm, we discovered a river, which we called *Bellevoir*. After we had sailed three or four leagues, we began to espy our pinnaces, which came straight toward us, and, at their arrival, they reported to the captain, that, while the foul weather and fogs endured, they harbored themselves in a mighty river, which, in bigness and beauty, exceeded the former; wherewithal the captain was exceeding joyful, for his chief desire was to find out an haven to harbor his ships, and there to refresh ourselves awhile. Thus, making thitherward, we arrived athwart the same river (which, because of the fairness and largeness thereof, we named

* The rivers discovered by RIBAULT, in Florida, and named by him because of their resemblance to the rivers in France, correspond with those known to us at the present day in American geography, viz. :—MAY, to the *St. Johns* (the *St. Matheo* of the Spaniards); LOIRE, to the *Altamaha*; CHARANTE, to the *Newport*; GARONNE, to the *Ogechee*; GIRONDE, to the *Savanna*; BELLEVOIR, to the *May*, in South Carolina; GRANDE, to the *Broad*; JORDAN, to the *Combahee*; PORT ROYAL, to *Port Royal*.

1562. *Port Royal*), struck our sails, and cast anchor at ten fathoms of water; for the depth is such, namely, when the sea beginneth to flow, that the greatest ships of France, yea, the argosses of *Venice*, may enter in there. Having cast anchor, the captain, with his soldiers, went on shore, and he himself went first on land, where we found the place as pleasant as was possible; for it was all covered over with mighty high oaks, and infinite store of cedars, and with lentiskes growing underneath them, smelling so sweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to seem exceeding pleasant. As we passed through these woods, we saw nothing but turkeycocks flying in the forests, partridges, gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bigness. We heard, also, within the woods, the voices of stags, of bears, of lucernes, of leopards, and divers other sorts of beasts unknown to us. Being delighted with this place, we set ourselves to fishing with nets, and we caught such a number of fish that it was wonderful; and, amongst others, we took a certain kind of fish, which we call *sallicoques*, which were no less than crevisses, so that two draughts of the net were sufficient to feed all the company of our two ships for a whole day. The river, at the mouth, thereof, from cape to cape, is no less than three French leagues broad; it is divided into two great arms, whereof the one runneth toward the west, and the other toward the north, and, I believe, in my judgment, that the arm which stretcheth toward the north runneth up into the country as far as the river *Jordan*; the other arm runneth into the sea, as it was known and understood by those of our company which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two arms are

two great leagues broad, and, in the midst of them, there is an isle, which is pointed towards the opening of the great river, in which island there are infinite numbers of all sorts of strange beasts. There are simples growing there of so rare properties, and in so great quantity, that it is an excellent thing to behold them. On every side, there is nothing to be seen but palm trees, and other sorts of trees, bearing blossoms and fruits of very rare shape, and very good smell. But, seeing the evening approach, and that the captain determined to return unto the ships, we prayed him to suffer us to pass the night in this place. In our absence, the pilots and these mariners advised the captain that it was needful to bring the ships further up within the river, to avoid the dangers of the winds which might annoy us, by reason of our being so near to the mouth of the river, and, for this cause, the captain sent for us. Being come to our ships, we sailed three leagues further up within the river, and there we cast anchor. A little while after, JOHN RIBAUT, accompanied with a good number of soldiers, embarked himself, desirous to sail further up into the arm that runneth toward the west, and to search the commodities of the place. Having sailed twelve leagues at the least, we perceived a troop of Indians, which, as soon as ever they espied the pinnaces, were so afraid that they fled into the woods, leaving behind them a young lucerne which they were turning upon a spit, for which cause the place was called *Cape Lucerne*. Proceeding forth on our way, we found another arm of the river, which ran towards the east, by which the captain determined to sail, and to leave the great current. A little while after, they began to espy divers other Indians,

1562. both men and women, half hidden within the woods, who, knowing not that we were such as desired their friendship, were dismayed at first, but, soon after, were emboldened, for the captain caused store of merchandize to be showed them openly, whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well unto them; and then they made a sign that we should come on land, which we would not refuse. At our coming on shore, divers of them came to salute our general, according to their barbarous fashion. Some of them gave him skins of chamois; others, little baskets made of palm-leaves; some presented him with pearls, but no great number. Afterwards, they went about to make an arbor, to defend us, in that place, from the parching heat of the sun. But we would not stay as then, wherefore the captain thanked them much for their good will, and gave presents to each of them, wherewith he pleased them so well before he went thence, that his sudden departure was nothing pleasant unto them. For, knowing him to be so liberal, they would have wished him to have stayed a little longer, seeking by all means to give occasion to stay, showing him, by signs, that he should stay but that day only, and that they desired to advise a great Indian lord, which had pearls in great abundance, and silver also, all which things should be given unto him at the king's arrival; saying, further, that, in the meantime, while that this great lord came thither, they would lead him to their houses, and show him there a thousand pleasures in shooting; and seeing the stag killed, therefore, they prayed him not to deny them their request; notwithstanding, we returned to our ships, where, after we had been but one night, *the captain, in the morn-*

ing, commanded to put into the pinnace a pillar of hard stone, 1562.
fashioned like a column, wherein the arms of the King of France
were graven, to plant the same in the fairest place that he could
find. This done, we embarked ourselves, and sailed three
leagues towards the west, where we discovered a little river, up
which we sailed so long, that, in the end, we found it returned
into the great current, and, in his return, to make a little island,
separated from the firm land, where we went on shore; and, by
commandment of the captain, because it was exceeding fair and
pleasant, there we planted the pillar, upon a hillock, open round about
to the view, and environed with a lake, half a fathom deep, of very
good and sweet water. In which island we saw two stags, of
exceeding bigness, in respect of those which we had seen before,
which we might easily have killed with our harquebuses, if the
captain had not forbidden us, moved with the singular fairness
and bigness of them; but, before our departure, we named the
little river which environed this isle, the *River of Liborne*.
Afterward, we embarked ourselves to search another isle, not
far distant from the former, wherein, after we had gone aland,
we found nothing but tall cedars, the fairest that were seen in
this country. For this cause, we called it the *Isle of Cedars*, so
we returned into our pinnace, to go towards our ships.

CHAPTER II.

1562.



FEW days afterwards, JOHN RIBAUT determined to return once again towards the Indians which inhabited the arm of the river which runneth towards the west, and to bring with him good store of soldiers; for his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the Queen had commanded him. With this deliberation, we again took our former course, so far north, that, at the last we came to the self-same place where at the first we found the Indians; from thence, we took two Indians, by the permission of the king, who, thinking they were more favored than the rest, thought themselves very happy to stay with us. But, these two Indians seeing we made no show at all that we would go on land, but rather that we followed the midst of the current, began to be somewhat offended, and would, by force, have leaped into the water; for they are so good swimmers, that immediately they would have gotten into the forests. Nevertheless, being acquainted with their humor, we watched them narrowly, and sought, by all means, to appease them, which we could not by any means do for that time,

though we offered them things which they much esteemed, which things they disdained to take, and gave back again whatsoever was given them, thinking that such gifts should have altogether bound them, and that, in restoring them, they should be restored unto their liberty. In fine, perceiving that all they did availed them nothing, they prayed us to give them those things which they had restored, which we did incontinent. Then they approached, one toward the other, and began to sing, agreeing so sweetly together, that, in hearing their song, it seemed that they lamented the absence of their friends. They continued their songs all night, without ceasing ; all which time we were constrained to lie at anchor, by reason of the tide that was against us ; but we hoisted sail the next day, very early in the morning, and returned to our ships. As soon as we were come to our ships, every one thought to gratify these two Indians, and to show them the best countenance that was possible, to the intent that, by such courtesies, they might perceive the good desire and affection which we had to remain their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meat to eat, but they refused it, and made us understand that they were accustomed to wash their faces, and to stay until the sun were set before they did eat, which is a ceremony common to all the Indians of New France. Nevertheless, in the end, they were constrained to forget their superstitions, and to apply themselves to our nature, which was somewhat strange unto them at the first. They became, therefore, more jocund—every hour made us a thousand discourses, being marvellous sorry that we could not understand them. A few days after, they began to bear so

1562. good will towards me, that, as I think, they would rather have perished with hunger and thirst than have taken their refection at any man's hand but mine. Seeing this, their good will, I sought to learn some Indian words, and began to ask them questions, showing them the thing whereof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell it me; and, knowing the desire that I had to learn their language, they encouraged me, afterward, to ask them anything; so that, putting down in writing the words and phrases of the Indian speech, I was able to understand the greatest part of their discourses. Every day they did nothing but speak unto me of the desire that they had to use me well, if we returned unto their houses, and cause me to receive all the pleasures that they could devise, as well in hunting as in seeing their very strange and superstitious ceremonies at a certain feast, which they call *Toya*—which feast they observe as strictly as we observe the Sunday. They gave me to understand that they would bring me to see the greatest lord of this country, which they called CHIGOULA, which exceedeth them in height (as they told me) a good foot and a half. They said unto me, that he dwelt within the land, in a very large place, and inclosed exceeding high, but I could not learn wherewith. And, as far as I can judge this place whereof they spake unto me, was a very fair city, for they said unto me that, within the inclosure, there was a great store of houses, which were built very high, wherein there was an infinite number of men like unto themselves, which made none account of gold, of silver, nor of pearls, seeing they had thereof in abundance. I began, then, to show them all the parts of

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heaven, to the intent to learn in which quarter they dwelt; and, straightway, one of them stretching out his hand, showed me that they dwelt toward the north, which makes me think that it was the river *Jordan*. And now, I remember, that, in the reign of the Emperor CHARLES V, certain Spaniards, inhabitants of *St. Domingo*, which made a voyage to get certain slaves to work in their mines, stole away, by subtlety, the inhabitants of this river, to the number of forty, thinking to carry them into their New Spain; but they lost their labor, for, in despite, they died all for hunger, saving one that was brought to the Emperor, which, a little while after, he caused to be baptized, and gave him his own name, and called him CHARLES OF CHIGOULA, because he spoke so much of this Lord of CHIGOULA, whose subject he was; also, he reported continually, that CHIGOULA made his abode within a very great inclosed city. Besides this proof, those which were left in the first voyage, have certified me, that the Indians showed them, by evident signs, that further within the land toward the north, there was a great inclosure, or city, where CHIGOULA dwelt. After they had staid awhile in our ships, they began to be sorry, and still demanded of me when they should return. I made them understand that the captain's will was to send them home again, but that first he would bestow apparel of them, which, a few days after, was delivered unto them. But, seeing he would not give them licence to depart, they resolved, with themselves, to steal away by night, and to get a little boat which we had, and, by the help of the tide, to sail home toward their dwellings, and by this means to save themselves, which thing they failed not to do, and put their

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enterprise into execution, yet leaving behind them the apparel which the captain had given them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their own, showing well, hereby, that they were not void of reason. The captain cared not greatly for their departure, considering they had not been used otherwise than well, and that, therefore, they would not estrange themselves from the Frenchmen. Captain RIBAUT, therefore, knowing the singular fairness of this river, desired, by all means, to encourage some of his men to dwell there, well foreseeing that this thing might be of great importance for the King's service, and the relief of the commonwealth of France. Therefore, proceeding on with his intent, he commanded the anchors to be weighed, and to set things in order to return unto the opening of the river, to the end that, if the wind came fair, he might pass out to accomplish the rest of his meaning. When, therefore, we were come to the mouth of the river, he made them cast anchor, whereupon we stayed, without discovering anything all the rest of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ship should come up on deck, saying, that he had somewhat to say unto them. They all came up, and immediately the captain began to speak unto them, in this manner:—

“I think there is none of you that is ignorant of how great consequence this our enterprise is, and, also, how acceptable it is unto our young King; therefore, my friends (as one desiring your honor and benefit), I would not fail to advise you all of the exceeding goodhap which should fall to them, which, as men of valor and worthy courage, would make trial in this, our

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first discovery, of the benefits and commodities of this new land, which should be, as I assure myself, the greatest occasion that ever could happen unto them, to arise unto the title and degree of honor, and, for this cause, I was desirous to propose unto you, and set down before your eyes, the eternal memory which of right they deserve; to which, forgetting both their parents and their country, have had the courage to enterprise a thing of such importance, to which even kings themselves, understanding to be men aspiring to so high degree of magnanimity and increase of their majesties, do not disdain so well to regard, that, afterwards employing them in matters of weight and high enterprise, they make their names immortal forever. Howbeit, I would not have you persuade yourselves, as many do, that you shall never have such good fortune, as not being known neither to the King nor to the princes of the realm; and, besides, descending of so poor a stock, that few, or none, of your parents, having ever made profession of arms, have been known unto the great estates. For, albeit, that, from my tender years, I, myself, have applied all my industry to follow them, and have hazarded my life in so many dangers for the service of my prince, yet could I never attain thereto (not that I did not deserve this title and degree of government), as I have seen it happen to many others, only because they descend of a noble race, since more regard is had of their birth than of their virtue. For, well I know, that if virtue were regarded, there would more be found worthy to deserve the title, and, by good right, to be named noble and valiant. I will, therefore, make sufficient answer to such propositions and such things as you may

1562. object against me, laying before you the infinite examples which we have of the Romans, which, concerning the point of honor, were the first that triumphed over the world. For how many find we among them, which, for their so valiant enterprises, not for the greatness of their parentage, have obtained the honor to triumph. If we have recourse unto their ancestors, we shall find that their parents were of so mean condition, that, by laboring with their hands, they lived very basely. As the father of *ÆLIUS PERTINAX*, which was a poor artisan, his grandfather, likewise, was a bondsman, as the histographers do witness; and, nevertheless, being moved with a valiant courage, he was nothing dismayed for all this, but rather desirous to aspire unto high things. He began, with a brave stomach, to learn feats of arms, and profited so well therein, that, from step to step, he became, at length, to be Emperor of the Romans. For all this dignity, he despised not his parents; but contrariwise, and, in remembrance of them, he caused his father's shop to be covered with a fine wrought marble, to serve for an example to men descended of base and poor lineage, to give them occasion to aspire unto high things, notwithstanding the meanness of their ancestors. I will not pass over in silence the prowess of the valiant and renowned *AGATHOCLES*, the son of a simple potter, and, yet forgetting the contemptible estate of his father, he so applied himself to virtue in his tender years, that, by the favor of arms, he came to be King of Sicily, and, for all this title, he refused not to be counted the son of a potter.

“But, the more to eternize the memory of his parents, and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he should be served at

the table in vessels of gold and silver, and others of earth; declaring, thereby, that the dignity wherein he was placed, came not to him by his parents, but by his own virtue only. 1562.

“If I shall speak of our time, I will lay before you only RUSTEN BASSHA, which may be a sufficient example to all men; which, though he were the son of a poor herdsman, did so apply his youth in all virtue, that, being brought up in the service of the great Turk, he seemed to aspire to great and high matters, in such sort, that, growing in years, he increased also in courage, so far forth, that, in fine, for his excellent virtues, he married the daughter of the great Turk, his prince. How much, then, ought so many worthy examples to move you to plant here? Considering, also, that hereby you shall be registered, forever, as the first that inhabited this strange country. I pray you, therefore, all to advise yourselves thereof, and to declare your minds freely unto me, protesting that I will so well imprint your name in the King’s ears, and the other princes, that your renown shall hereafter shine unquenchable through our realm of France.”

He had scarcely ended his oration, but the greatest part of our soldiers replied: That a greater pleasure could never betide them, perceiving well the acceptable service, which, by this means, they should do unto their prince, besides, that this thing should be for the increase of their honors; therefore, they besought the captain, before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a fort, which they hoped, afterward, to finish, and to leave them munition necessary for their defense, showing, as it seemed, that they were displeased that it was so long in doing. Whereupon, JOHN RIBAUT, being as glad as might be to see his men so well willing, determined, the next

1562. day, to search the most fit and convenient place to be inhabited. Wherefore, he embarked himself, very early in the morning, and commanded them to follow him that were desirous to inhabit there, to the intent that they might like the better of the place.

Having sailed up the great river (Broad River) on the north side, in coasting an isle which endeth with a sharp point toward the mouth of the river, having sailed awhile, he discovered a small river, which entered into the island, which he would not fail to search out. Which done, and finding the same deep enough to harbor therein galleys and galliots in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, joining upon the brink thereof, where he went on land; and, seeing the place fit to build a fortress on, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolved, incontinent, to cause the bigness of the fortification to be measured out. And, considering that there stayed but six-and-twenty there, he caused the fort to be made, in length, but sixteen fathoms, and thirteen in breadth, with flanks, according to the proportion thereof. The measure being taken by me and Captain SALLES, we sent unto the ships for men, and to bring shovels, pick-axes, and other instruments necessary to make the fortification. We labored so diligently, that, in a short space, the fort was made, in some sort, defensible. In which, meantime, JOHN RIBAUT caused victuals and warlike munition to be brought for the defense of the place. After he had furnished them with all such things as they had need of, he determined to take his leave of them; but, before his departure, he used this speech unto Captain ALBERT, which he left in this place:—

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“Captain ALBERT, I have to request you, in the presence of these men, that you would quit yourself so wisely in your charge, and govern so modestly your small company which I leave you, which with so good cheer remaineth under your obedience, that I never occasion but to command you, and to recount unto the King (as I am desirous) the faithful service which, before us all, you undertake to do him in his New France. And you, companions (quoth he to the soldiers), I beseech you also to esteem of Captain ALBERT, as if he were myself that stayed here with you, yielding him that obedience which a true soldier oweth unto his general and captain, living as brethren, one with another, without all dissension; and, in so doing, GOD will assist you and bless your enterprises.”

Having ended his exhortations, we took our leaves of each of them, and sailed towards our ships, calling the fort by the name of *Charles Fort*,* and the river by the name of *Chenonceau*. The next day, we determined to depart from this place, being as well contented as was possible that we had so happily ended our business, with good hope, if occasion would permit, to discover perfectly the *River of Jordan* (the *Combahee*, of South Carolina). For this cause, we hoisted our sails, about ten of the clock in the morning; after we were ready to depart, Captain RIBAUT commanded to shoot off our ordnance, to give a farewell unto our Frenchmen, which failed not to do the like on their part. This being done, we sailed toward the north, and then we

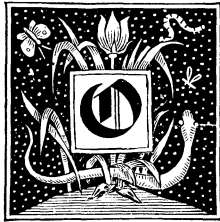
* It was named in compliment to CHARLES IX, king of France, who had given the Huguenots permission to effect a settlement in Florida. All the explorations heretofore made concur in placing this fort between *Broad River* and *North Edisto*, in South Carolina, and on the site of the present town of *Beaufort*. The *Grande Riviere* of the French is no other than the *Broad River* of South Carolina.

1562. named this river *Port Royal*, because of the largeness and excellent fairness of the same. After that we had sailed about fifteen leagues from thence, we espied a river, whereupn we sent our pinnace thither to discover it. At their return, they brought us word that they found not past half a fathom water in the mouth thereof, which, when we understood, without doing anything else, we continued our way, and called it the *Base*, or *Shallow River*. As we still went on sounding, we found not past five or six fathoms water, although we were six good leagues from the shore. At length, we found not past three fathoms, which gave us occasion greatly to muse, and, without making any further way, we struck our sails, partly because we wanted water, and partly because the night approached. During which time, Captain JOHN RIBAUT bethought with himself, whether it were best for him to pass any farther, because of the imminent dangers which, every hour, we saw before our eyes, or whether he should content himself with that which he had certainly discovered, and, also, left men to inhabit the country. Being not able, for that time, to resolve with himself, he referred it until the next day. The morning being come, he proposed to all the company what was best to be done, to the end that, with good advisement, every man might deliver his opinion. Some made answer, that, according to their judgment, he had occasion fully to content himself, considering that he could do no more; laying before his eyes, that he had discovered more in six weeks than the Spaniards had done in two years in the conquest of their New Spain, and that he should do the King very great service, if he did bring him news, in so short a time,

of his happy discovery. Others showed unto him the loss and spoil of his victuals, and, on the other side, the inconvenience that might happen by the shallow water that they found continually along the coast. Which things being well and at large debated, we resolved to leave the coast, forsaking the north, to take our way toward the east, which is the right way and course to our France, where we happily arrived the 20th day of July, 1562.

CHAPTER III.

1562.



OUR men, after our departure, never rested, but, night and day, did fortify themselves, being in good hope that, after *Charles Fort* was finished, they would begin to discover farther up within the river. It happened, one day, as certain of them were cutting of roots in the groves, that they espied, on the sudden, an Indian that hunted the deer, which, finding himself so near upon them, was much dismayed, but our men began to draw near unto him, and to use him so courteously, that he became assured, and followed them to *Charles Fort*, where every man sought to do him pleasure. Captain ALBERT was very joyful of his coming, which, after he had given him a shirt, and some other trifles, he asked him of his dwelling; the Indian answered him, that it was farther up within the river, and that he was vassal of King AUDUSTA; he also showed him, with his hand, the limits of his habitation. After much other talk, the Indian desired leave to depart. because it drew toward night, which Captain ALBERT granted him very willingly. Certain days after, the captain determined

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to sail towards *Audusta*, where, being arrived, by reason of the honest entertainment which he had given to the Indian, he was so courteously received, that the king talked with him of nothing else but of the desire which he had to become his friend, giving him, besides, to understand, that he, being his friend and ally, he should have the amity of four other kings, which, in might and authority, were able to do much for his sake. Besides all this, in his necessity, they might be able to succor him with victuals. One of these kings was called WAYON, another, HOYA, the third, TOUPPA, and the fourth, STALAME. He told them, moreover, that he would be very glad when they should understand the news of his coming, and, therefore, he prayed him to vouchsafe to visit them. The captain willingly consented unto him, for the desire that he had to purchase friends in that place. Therefore, they departed the next morning, very early, and first arrived at the house of King TOUPPA, and, afterwards, went into the other kings' houses, except the house of King STALAME. He received, of each of them, all the amiable courtesies that might be; they showed themselves to be as affectioned friends unto him as was possible, and offered unto him a thousand small presents. After that he had remained by the space of certain days with these strange kings, he determined to take his leave, and, being come back to the house of AUDUSTA, he commanded all his men to go aboard their pinnaces, for he was minded to go towards the country of King STALAME, which dwelt toward the north, the distance of fifteen great leagues from *Charles Fort*. Therefore, as they sailed up the river, they entered into a great current, which they fol-

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lowed so far, till they came at the last to the house of STALAME, which brought him into his lodging, where he sought to make them the best cheer he could devise. He presented, immediately, unto Captain ALBERT, his bows and arrows, which is a sign and confirmation of alliance between them. He presented him with chamois-skins. The captain, seeing the best part of the day was now past, took his leave of King STALAME to return to *Charles Fort*, where he arrived the day following. By this time, the friendship had grown so great between our men and King AUDUSTA, that, in a manner, all things were common between him and them, in such sort, that this good Indian king did nothing of importance but he called our men thereunto; for, when the time drew near of the celebrating the feasts of *Toya*, which are ceremonies most strange to recite, he sent ambassadors to our men, to request them, on his behalf, to be there present. Whereupon they agreed, most willingly, for the desire that they had to understand what this might be. They embarked themselves, therefore, and sailed towards the king's house, which was already come forth on the way towards them, to receive them courteously, to bid them welcome, and bring them to his house, where he sought to entreat them the best he might. In the meanwhile, the Indians prepared themselves to celebrate the feast the morrow after, and the king brought them to see the place, wherein the feast should be kept, where they saw many women round about, which labored, by all means, to make the place clean and neat. This place was a great circuit of ground, with open prospect, and round in figure. On the morrow, therefore, early in the morning, all

they which were chosen to celebrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers, of divers colors, put themselves on the way to go from the king's house toward the place of *Toya*; whereunto, when they were come, they set themselves in order, and followed three Indians, which, in painting and in gesture, were differing from the rest; each of them bear a tabret in their hand, dancing and singing a lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the midst of the round circuit, being followed of others which answered them again. After that they had sung, danced, and turned three times, they fell on running, like unbridled horses, through the midst of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued, all the rest of the day, in tears as sad and woeful as was possible, and, in such rage, they cut the arms of the young girls, which they lanced so cruelly with sharp shells of mussels, that the blood followed, which they flung into the air, crying out, three times, "*He Toya!*"

The King AUDUSTA had gathered all our men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them laugh. This he did, because the Indians are very angry when they are seen in their ceremonies. Notwithstanding, one of our men made such shift, that, by subtle means, he got out of the house of AUDUSTA, and secretly went and hid himself behind a very thick bush, where, at his pleasure, he might easily descry the ceremonies of the feast. They three that began the feast, are named *Iawas*, and they are, as it were, three priests of the Indian law, to whom they give credit and belief, partly because, that, by kindred, they are ordained to be over their sacrifices, and partly, also, because they be so subtle

1562. magicians, that anything that is lost is straightway recovered by their means. Again, they are not revered for these things, but, also, because they heal diseases by—I wot not what kind of knowledge and skill they have. Those that ran so through the woods, returned two days after; after their return, they began to dance with a cheerful courage, in the midst of the fair place, and to cheer up their good old Indian fathers, which, either by reason of their too great age, or by reason of their natural indisposition and feebleness, were not called to the feast. When all these dances were ended, they fell to eating with such a greediness, that they seemed rather to devour their meat than to eat it, for they had neither eaten nor drank the day of the feast, nor the two days following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheer, for the Indians sent for them all thither, showing themselves very glad of their presence. While they remained a certain time with the Indians, a man of ours got a young boy, for certain trifles, and enquired of him what the Indians did in the woods during their absence, which boy made him understand, by signs, that *Iawas* had made invocations to *Toya*, and that, by magical characters, they had made him come that they might speak with him, and demand divers strange things of him, which, for fear of the *Iawas*, he durst not utter. They have, also, many other ceremonies, which I will not here rehearse, for fear of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance. When the feast, therefore, was finished, our men returned unto *Charles Fort*, where, having remained but awhile, their victuals began to wax short, which forced them to have recourse unto their neighbors, and to pray them to succor them

in their necessity, which gave them part of all the victuals 1562.
 which they had, and kept no more unto themselves than would
 serve to sow their fields. They told them, further, that, for
 this cause, it was needful for them to retire themselves into the
 woods, to live on mash and roots until the time of harvest,
 being as sorry as might be that they were not able any further
 to aid them. They gave them, also, counsel to go toward the
 countries of King COUEXIS, a man of might and renown in this
 province, which maketh his abode toward the south, abounding,
 at all seasons, and replenished with such quantity of mill, corn,
 and beans, that, by his only succor, they might be able to
 live a very long time. But, before they should come into his
 territories, they were to repair unto a king, called OUDE, the
 brother of COUEXIS, which, in mill, corn, and beans, was no less
 wealthy, and, withal, is very liberal, and which would be very joy-
 ful if he might but once see them. Our men, perceiving the
 good relation which the Indians made them of those two kings,
 resolved to go thither, for they felt already the necessity which
 oppressed them. Therefore, they made request unto King
 MACCOA, that it would please him to give them one of his
 subjects to guide them the right way thither, whereupon he
 condescended, very willingly, knowing that, without his favor,
 they should have much ado to bring their enterprise to pass.
 Wherefore, after they had given orders for all things necessary
 for the voyage, they put themselves to sea, and sailed so far,
 that, in the end, they came into the country *Ouade*, which they
 found to be in the river *Belle*.*

The river *Belle*, of the French commander, is now the river *May*, of South Carolina.

1562. perceived a company of Indians, which, as soon as they knew of their being there, came before them. As soon as they were come near them, their guides showed them, by signs, that OUDA was in this company, wherefore, our men set forward to salute him. And then, two of his sons, which were with him, being goodly and strong men, saluted them again in very good sort, and used very friendly entertainment on their part.

The king immediately began to make an oration, in his Indian language, of the great pleasure and contentment which he had to see them in that place, protesting that he would become so loyal a friend of theirs hereafter, that he would be their faithful defender against all them that would offer to be their enemies. After these speeches, he led them towards his house, where he sought to treat them very courteously. His house was hung around with tapestry of feathers, of divers colors, the height of a pike. Moreover, the place where the king took his rest was covered with white coverlets, embroidered with devices of very witty and fine workmanship, and fringed round about with a fringe, dyed in the color of scarlet. They advertised the king, by one of the guides—which they had brought with them—how that (having heard of this great liberality) they had put to sea to come to beseech him to succor them with victuals in their great want and necessity; and that, in so doing, he should bind them all, hereafter, to remain his faithful friends and loyal defenders against all his enemies. This good Indian, as soon ready to do them pleasure as they were to demand it, commanded his subjects that they should fill our pinnaces with mill and beans.

Afterward, he caused them to bring him six pieces of his 1562.
tapisstry, made like little coverlets, and gave them to our men,
with so liberal a mind, as they easily perceived the desire which
he had to become their friend.

CHAPTER IV.

1562.



N recompense of all these gifts, our men gave him two cutting-hooks, and certain other trifles, wherewith he held himself greatly satisfied. This being done, our men took leave of the king, which, for their farewell, said nothing else but that they should return if they wanted victuals, and that they might assure themselves of him, that they should never want anything that was in his power. Wherefore, they embarked themselves, and sailed towards *Charles Fort*, which, from this place, might be some five-and-twenty leagues distant. But, as soon as our men thought themselves at their ease, and free from the dangers whereunto they had exposed themselves, night and day, in gathering together of victuals here and there; lo! even as they were asleep, the fire caught in their lodgings with such fury—being increased by the wind—that the room that was built for them before our men's departure, was consumed in an instant, without being able to save anything, saving a little of their victuals. Whereupon our men, being far from all succors, found themselves in such extremity, that, without the aid of Almighty God, the only

searcher of the hearts and thoughts of men, which never forsaketh those that seek him in their affliction, they had been quite and clean out of all hope. For, the next day, betimes in the morning, the King AUDUSTA and King MACCOU came thither, accompanied with a very good company of Indians, which, knowing the misfortune, were very sorry for it; and then they uttered unto their subjects the speedy diligence which they were to use in building another house, showing unto them that the Frenchmen were their loving friends, and that they had made it evident unto them by the gifts and presents which they had received; protesting that whosoever put not his helping hand unto the work with all his might, should be esteemed as unprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the savages fear above all things. This was the occasion that every man began to endeavor himself in such sort, that, in less than twelve hours, they had begun and finished a house, which was very near as great as the former. Which, being ended, they returned home, fully contented with a few cutting-hooks and hatchets, which they received from our men. Within a small while after this mischance, their victuals began to wax short, and, after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themselves again, they found that there was no better way for them than to return again to the King OUADE, and COUEXIS, his brother. Wherefore, they resolved to send thither some of their company the next day following, which, with an Indian canoe, sailed up into the country about ten leagues; afterward, they found a very fair and great river, of fresh water, which they failed not to search out; they found, therein, a great

1562.

number of crocodiles, which, in greatness, pass those of the river *Nilus* (*Nile*). Moreover, all along the banks thereof, there grow mighty high cypresses. After they had staid a small while in this place, they purposed to follow their journey, helping themselves so well with the tides, that, without putting themselves in danger of the continual perils of the sea, they came unto the country of OUADE, of whom they were most courteously received. They advertised him of the occasion wherefore they came again to visit him, and told him of the mischance which happened unto them since their last voyages; how they had not only lost their household stuff by casualty of fire, but also their victuals which he had given them so bountifully; that, for this cause, they were so bold as to come once again unto him, to beseech him to vouchsafe to succor them in such need and necessity.

After that the king had understood their cause, he sent messengers unto his brother COUEXIS, to request him, upon his behalf, to send him some of his mill and beans, which thing he did, and, the next morning, they were come again with victuals, which the king caused to be borne into their canoe. Our men would have taken their leave of him, finding themselves more than satisfied with their liberality; but, for that day, he would not suffer them, but retained them, and sought to make them the best cheer he could devise. The next day, very early in the morning, he took them with him to show them the place where his corn grew, and said unto them, that they should not want as long as all that mill did last. After that, he gave them a certain number of exceeding fair pearls, and two stones of fine

crystal, and certain silver ore. Our men forgot not to give him certain trifles in recompense of these presents, and inquired of him the place whence the silver ore and the crystal came. He made them answer, that it came ten days' journey from his habitation, up within the country; and that the inhabitants of the country did dig the same at the foot of certain high mountains, where they found of it in very good quantity. Being joyful to understand so good news, and to have come to the knowledge of that which they most desired, they took their leave of the king, and returned by the same way by which they came. 1562.

Behold, therefore, how our men behaved themselves very well hitherto, although they had endured many great mishaps. But misfortune, or rather the just judgment of God would have it, that those which could not be overcome by fire nor water, should be undone by their own selves. This is the common fashion of men, which cannot continue in one state, and had rather to overthrow themselves, than not to attempt some new thing daily. We have infinite examples in the ancient histories, especially of the Romans, unto which number this little handful of men, being far from their country, and absent from their countrymen, have also added this present example. They entered, therefore, into partialities and dissensions, which began about a soldier, named GUERNACHE, which was a drummer of the French bands, which, as it was told me, was very cruelly hanged by his own captain, and for a small fault; which captain also using to threaten the rest of his soldiers which staid behind under his obedience, and, peradventure (as it is to be presumed),

1562. were not so obedient to him as they should have been, was the cause that they fell into a mutiny, because that, many times, he put his threatenings in execution, whereupon they so chased him, that, at last, they put him to death. And the principal occasion that moved them thereunto was because he degraded another soldier, named LE CHERE (which he had banished), and because he had not performed his promise; for he had promised to send him victuals, from eight days to eight days, which thing he did not, but said, on the contrary, that he would be glad to hear of his death. He said, moreover, that he would chastise others also, and used so evil-sounding speeches, that honesty forbiddeth me to repeat them. The soldiers, seeing his manners to increase from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolved to kill him. Having executed their purpose, they went to seek the soldier that was banished, which was in a small island, distant from *Charles Fort* about three leagues, where they found him almost half dead for hunger. When they were come home again, they assembled themselves together, to choose one to be governor over them, whose name was NICHOLAS BARRE, a man worthy of commendation, and one who knew so well to quit himself of his charge, that all rancor and dissension ceased among them, and they lived peaceably, one with another. During this time, they began to build a final pinnacle, with hope to return into France, if no succors came unto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any skill, notwithstanding, necessity, which is the mistress of all sciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finished,

they thought of nothing else saving how to furnish it with all things necessary to undertake the voyage. But they wanted those things, that, of all others, were most needful, as cordage and sails, without which the enterprise could not come to effect. Having no means to recover these things, they were in worse case than at the first, and almost ready to fall into despair; but that good God, which never forsaketh the afflicted, did succor them in their necessity. 1562.

As they were in these perplexities, King AUDUSTA, and MACCOU, came to them, accompanied with two hundred Indians, at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meet withal, and showed the king in what need of cordage they stood, who promised them to return within two days, and bring as much as should suffice to furnish the pinnace with tacking.

Our men being pleased with these good news and promises, bestowed upon them certain cutting-hooks, and shirts. After their departure, our men sought all means to recover rosin in the woods, wherein they cut the pine trees round about, out of which they drew sufficient reasonable quantity to bray the vessel. Also, they gathered a kind of moss, which groweth on the trees of this country, to serve to caulk the same withal. There now wanted nothing but sails, which they made of their own shirts, and of their sheets. Within a few days after, the Indian kings returned to *Charles Fort*, with so good store of cordage, that there was found sufficient for tackling of the small pinnace. One man, as glad as might be, used great liberality towards them, and, at their leaving of the country, left them all the merchandize that remained, leaving them, thereby, so fully

1562. satisfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation of the world. They went forward, therefore, to finish the brigantine, and used so speedy diligence, that, within a short time afterward, they made it ready furnished with all things. In the mean season, the wind came so fit for their purpose, that it seemed to invite them to put to the sea, which they did without delay, after they had set all things in order; but, before they departed, they embarked their artillery, their forage, and other munitions of war, which Captain RIBAULT had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But, being drunken with the too excellent joy which they had conceived for their returning into France, or rather, deprived of all foresight and consideration, without regarding the inconstancy of the winds, which changed in a moment, they put themselves to sea, and, with so slender victuals, that the end of their enterprise became unlucky and unfortunate. For, after they had sailed the third part of their way, they were surprised with calms, which did so much hinder them, that, in three weeks, they sailed not above five-and-twenty leagues. During this time, their victuals consumed, and became so short that every man was constrained to eat not past twelve grains of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelve *pesos*. Yea, and this felicity lasted not long, for their victuals failed them altogether at once, and they had nothing for their more assured refuge but their shoes and leather jerkins, which they did eat. Touching their beverage, some of them drank the sea-water, others did drink their own brine, and they remained in such desperate necessity a very long space, during the which part of

them died for hunger. Beside this extreme famine which did 1562. so grievously oppress them, they fell, every minute of an hour, out of all hope ever to see France again, insomuch that they were constrained to cast the water continually out, that, on all sides, entered into their bark. And, every day, they fared worse and worse; for, after they had eaten up their boots and their leather jerkins, there arose so boisterous a wind, and so contrary to their course, that, in the turning of a hand, the waves filled their vessels half full of water, and bruised it upon the one side.

Being now more out of hope than ever to escape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for the casting out of the water, which now was almost ready to drown them. And, as men resolved to die, every one fell down backward, and gave themselves over altogether unto the will of the waves. Whereas one of them, a little having taken heart unto him, declared unto them how little way they had to sail, assuring them that if the wind held, they should see land within three days. This man did so encourage them, that, after they had thrown the water out of the pinnacle, they remained three days without eating or drinking—except it were of the sea-water. When the time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled than they were before, seeing they could not descry any land; wherefore, in this extreme despair, certain among them made this motion: that it was better that one man should die, than that so many men should perish. They agreed, therefore, that one should die, to sustain the others—which thing was executed in the person of LE CHERE, of whom we have spoken hereto-

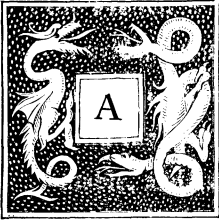
1562. fore, whose flesh was divided equally among his fellows—a thing so pitiful to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

After so long time and tedious travels, God, of his goodness, using his accustomed favor, changed their sorrows into joy, and showed unto them the sight of land; whereof they were so exceeding glad, that the pleasure caused them to remain a long time, as men without sense, whereby they let the pinnace float this and that way, without holding any right way or course. But a small English bark boarded the vessel, in the which there was a Frenchman which had been in the first voyage into Florida, who easily knew him, and spake unto them, and afterward gave them meat and drink. Incontinently, they recovered their natural courage, and declared unto him, at large, all their navigation. The Englishmen consulted a long while what were best to be done; and, in fine, they resolved to put on land those that were most feeble, and to carry the rest unto the Queen of England, which purposed at that time to send into Florida. Thus, you see, in brief, that which happened to them which Captain JOHN RIBAUT had left in Florida.

And, now, will I go forward with the discourse of mine own voyage.

CHAPTER V.

SECOND EXPEDITION.



FTER our arrival at *Dieppe*, at our 1562.

coming home from our first voyage (which was the 20th of July, 1562), we found that civil war had begun, which was, in part, the cause why our

men were not succored, as Captain JOHN RIBAUT had promised them; whereof, it followed that Captain ALBERT was killed by his soldiers, and the country abandoned, as heretofore we have sufficiently discoursed, and as it may more at large be understood by those men which were there in person. After the peace was made in France, my Lord Admiral DE CHASTILLON showed unto the King, that he heard no news at all of the men which Captain JOHN RIBAUT had left in Florida, and that it were a pity to suffer them to perish. In which respect the King was content he should cause three ships to be furnished—the one of six-score tons, the other of one hundred, and the third of sixty, to seek them out, and to succor them.*

* On the return of M. RIBAUT to France, in 1562, to obtain supplies and reinforcements for the colony he had established in Florida, he found the kingdom in such a distracted condition, that it was impracticable to return. The death of the

1562. My Lord Admiral, therefore, being well informed of the faithful service which I had done as well unto his Majesty as to his predecessors, Kings of France, advised the King how able I was to do him service in this voyage, which was the cause that he made me (RÉNÉ LAUDONNIÈRE)* chief captain over these three ships, and charged me to depart with diligence to perform his commandment, which, for mine own part, I would not gainsay, but rather thinking myself happy to have been chosen out of among such an infinite number of others, which, in my judgment, were very well able to have acquitted themselves in this charge.

1564. I embarked myself at *New Haven*, the 22d of April, 1564, and sailed, so that we fell near upon the coast of *England*; and then I turned towards the south, to sail directly to the *Fortunate Islands*, at this present time called the *Canaries*, one of which, called the *Isle Savage* (because, as I think, it is altogether with-

Duke of GUISE, soon after, restored peace to France, and Admiral COLIGNY seized the opportunity to urge upon the King the importance of sending immediate relief to the colony; and, as the civil war had thrown upon the kingdom a great number of idle persons who were anxious to emigrate, the King ordered another expedition to be fitted out, and gave the command of it to M. LAUDONNIÈRE, who had accompanied M. RIBAUT in the first expedition. On the 22d of June, 1564, he arrived on the coast of Florida, and, on the 25th, landed at the mouth of the river *May* (now called *St. Johns*). He afterwards proceeded up the river, to a place now called *St. Johns Bluff*, and built a fort; on the right was the bluff, on the left a marsh, in front of the river, and, in the rear, extensive forests of the indigenous trees of the country. The remains of this fort are still to be traced, and was named *Caroline*. It was the second fort built by the French in Florida, as a sign of the jurisdiction of France in North America, forty-three years before the first settlement of the English at *James Town*, Virginia, and sixty-six years before the English Puritans arrived in the *May Flower*, at *Plymouth*, Massachusetts.

* CHARLEVOIX describes M. LAUDONNIÈRE as "Un gentleman de merite—bon officier de marine et qui avoit même servi sur terre avec distinction."

out inhabitants), was the first that our ships passed. Sailing, therefore, on forward, we landed the next day in the *Isle of Teneriffa*, otherwise called the *Pike*, because that, in the midst, thereof, there is an exceeding high mountain, near as high as that of *Etna*, which riseth up like a pike, into the top whereof no man can go up, but from the midst of May until the midst of August, by reason of the over great cold which is there all the year, which is a wonderful strange thing, considering that it is not past twenty-seven and a half degrees distant from the Equator. We saw it all covered over with snow, although it were then but the fifth of May. The inhabitants in this isle, being, heretofore, pursued by the Spaniards, retired themselves into this mountain, where, for a space, they made war with them, and would not submit themselves to their obedience, neither by foul nor fair means; they disdained so much the loss of their island. For those which went thither, on the Spaniard's behalf, left their carcasses there, so that not so much as one of them returned home to bring the news. Notwithstanding, in the end, the inhabitants, not able to live in that place according to their nature, or for want of such things as were necessary for the commodity of their livelihood, did all die there. After I had furnished myself with some fresh water—very good and excellent, which sprang out of a rock at the foot of this mountain—I continued my course toward the west, wherein the winds favored me so well, that, fifteen days after, our ships arrived safe and sound at the *Antilles*; and, going on land at the *Isle of Martinica*—one of the first of them—the next day we arrived at *Dominica*, twelve leagues distant from the former.

1564.

1564. *Dominica* is one of the fairest islands of the west, full of hills, and of very good smell, whose singularities desiring to know as we passed, and seeking, also, to refresh ourselves with fresh water, I made the mariners cast anchor; two Indians (inhabitants of that place) sailed toward us, in two canoes, full of fruit of great excellence, which they call *ananas*. As they approached unto our bark, there was one of them, which, being in some misdoubt of us, went back again on land, and fled his way with as much speed as he could possibly, which our men perceived, and entered with diligence into the other canoe, wherein they caught the poor Indian, and brought him unto me. But the poor fellow become so astonished in beholding us, that he knew not which way to behave himself; because that (as afterward I understood) he feared that he was fallen into the Spaniard's hands, of whom he had been taken once before, and which, as he showed us, had cut off his stones. At length, this poor Indian was secure of us, and discoursed unto us of many things, whereof we received very small pleasure, because we understood not his mind but by his signs. Then he desired me to give him leave to depart, and promised me that he would bring me a thousand presents, whereunto I agreed, on condition that he would have patience until the next day; when I purposed to go on land, where I suffered him to depart, after I had given him a shirt, and certain small trifles, wherewith he departed, very well contented, from us.

The place where we went on shore was hard by a very high rock, out of which there ran a little river of sweet and excellent good water, by which river we staid certain days, to discover

the things which were worthy to be seen, and trafficked daily 1564. with the Indians, which, above all things, besought us that none of our men should come near their lodgings, nor their gardens, otherwise that we should give them great cause of jealousy, and that, in so doing, we should not want of their fruit, which they call *ananas*, whereof they offered us very liberally, receiving, in recompense, certain things of small value. This, notwithstanding, it happened, that, on a day, certain of our men, desirous to see some new things in these strange countries, walked through the woods, and, following still the little river's side, they spied two serpents, of exceeding bigness, which went side by side athwart the way. My soldiers went before them, thinking to let them from going into the woods; but the serpents, nothing at all astonished at these gestures, glanced into the bushes with fearful hissings; yet, for all that, my men drew their swords and killed them, and found them, afterward, nine great feet long, and as big as a man's leg. During this combat, certain others more indiscrete, went and gathered *ananas* in the Indians' gardens, trampling through them without any discretion; and not, therewithal, contented, they went toward their dwellings, whereat the Indians were so much offended, that, without regarding anything, they rushed upon them and discharged their shot, so that they hit one of my men, named MARTINE CHAUEAU, which remained behind. We could not know whether he were killed on the place, or whether he were taken prisoner, for those of his company had enough to do to save themselves, without thinking of their companion. Whereof Monsieur DE OTTIGNI, my lieutenant, being adver-

1564. tised, sent unto me to know whether I thought good that he should lay an ambush for the Indians, which had either taken or killed our man, or whether he should go directly to their dwellings to know the truth. I sent unto him, after good deliberation hereupon, that he should not attempt anything, and that for divers occasions; but, contrariwise, that he should embark himself with all diligence, and consequently all they that were on land, which he did with speed. But, as he sailed toward our ships, he perceived, along the shore, a great number of Indians, which began to charge them with their arrows; he, for his part, discharged store of shot against them, yet was not able to hurt them, or, by any means, to surprise them, for which cause he quite forsook them, and came unto our ship. While staying until the next day morning, we set sail, following our wonted course, and, keeping the same, we discovered divers isles, conquered by the Spaniards, as the *Isles of St. Christopher*, and of the *Saints of Montserrate*, and *La Redonda*. Afterward, we passed between *Anguilla* and *Anegarda*, sailing toward New France, where we arrived fifteen days after, to wit: on Thursday, the 22d of June, about three of the clock in the afternoon, and landed at a little river, which is thirty degrees distant from the Equator, and ten leagues above *Cape Francois*, drawing toward the south, and about thirty leagues above the *River of May*.

After we had struck sail and cast anchor athwart the river, I determined to go on shore to discover the same. Therefore, being accompanied with *Mons. de Ottigni*, with *M. Arlac*, mine ensign, and a certain number of gentlemen and soldiers, I

1564.

embarked myself about three or four of the clock in the evening. And being arrived at the mouth of the river, I caused the channel to be sounded, which was found to be very shallow, although that, further within the same, the water was there found reasonable deep, which separateth itself into two great arms, whereof one runneth toward the south, and the other toward the north. Having thus searched the river, I went on land to speak with the Indians, which waited for us upon the shore, which, at our coming on land, came before us, crying, with a loud voice, in their Indian language, *Antipola Bonassou!* which is as much as to say, brother, friend, or some such like thing. After they had made very much of us, they showed us their *paracoussy*—that is to say, their king, or governor, to whom I presented certain toys, wherewith he was well pleased. And, for mine own part, I praised God, continually, for the great love which I have found in these savages, which were sorry for nothing, but that the night approached, and made us retire unto our ships. For, though they endeavored, by all means, to make us tarry with them, and showed, by signs, the desire that they had to present us with some rare things, yet, nevertheless, for many just and reasonable occasions, I would not stay on shore all night, but, excusing myself for all their offers, I embarked myself again, and returned toward my ships. Howbeit, before my departure, I named this river, the *River of Dolphins*, because that, at mine arrival, I saw there a great number of dolphins, which were playing in the mouth thereof. The next day, the 23d of this month (because that, toward the south, I had not found any commodious place for us to inhabit and to build a

1564

fort), I gave commandment to weigh anchor, and to hoist our sails to sail toward the *River of May*, where we arrived two days after, and cast anchor. Afterward, going on land with some number of gentlemen and soldiers, to know for a certainty the singularities of this place, we espied the *paracoussy* of the country, which came toward us (this was the very same that we saw in the voyage of Captain JOHN RIBAUT), which, having espied us, cried, very far off, *Antipola! Antipola!* and, being so joyful that he could not contain himself, he came to meet us, accompanied with two of his sons, as fair and mighty persons as might be found in all the world, which had nothing in their mouths but this word—*amy, amy*; that is to say, friend, friend; yea, and knowing those which were there in the first voyage, they went principally to them to use this speech unto them. There was in their train a great number of men and women, which still made very much of us, and, by evident signs, made us understand how glad they were of our arrival.

This good entertainment past, the paracoussy prayed me to go see the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of JOHN RIBAUT (as we have declared heretofore), as a thing which they made great account of. Having yielded unto him, and being come to the place where it was set up, we found the same crowned with crowns of bay, and, at the foot thereof, many little baskets full of mill, which they call, in their language, tapaga tapola. Then, when they came thither, they kissed the same with great reverence, and besought us to do the like, which we would not deny them, to the end we might draw them to be more in friendship with us. This done, the paracoussy took me by the hand, as if he had desire to make me

understand some great secret, and, by signs, showed me very 1564.
well up within the river the limits of his dominion, and said
that he was called *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA, which is as much as
King SATOURIOUA. His children have the self same title of
paracoussy; the eldest is named ATHORE—a man, I dare say,
perfect in beauty, wisdom, and honest sobriety, showing, by his
modest gravity, that he deserveth the name which he beareth;
besides that, he is gentle and tractable. After we had sojourned
a certain space with them, the *paracoussy* prayed one of his sons
to present unto me a wedge of silver, which he did, and that
with a good will, in recompense, whereof, I gave him a cutting-
hook, and some other better present, wherewith he seemed to
be very well pleased.

CHAPTER VI.

1564.

F T E R W A R D, we took our leave of them, because the night approached, and I then returned to lodge in our ships. Being allured with this good entertainment, I failed not, the next day, to embark myself again with my lieutenant, OTTIGNI, and a number of soldiers, to return toward the *paracoussy* of the *River of May*, which, of purpose, waited for us in the same place, where, the day before, we conferred with him. We found him under the shadow of an arbor, accompanied with four-score Indians, at the least, and appareled, at that time, after the Indian fashion, to wit: with a great hart's skin, dressed like chamois, and painted with devices of strange and divers colors, but of so lively a portraiture, and representing antiquity, with rules so justly compassed, that there is no painter so exquisite that could find fault therewith; the natural disposition of this strange people is so perfect and so well guided, that, without any aid and favor of arts, they are able, by the help of nature only, to content the eye of artisans, yea, even of those which, by their industry, are able to aspire unto things most absolute.

Then I advertised *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA, that my desire was to discover further up into the river, but that this should be with such diligence, that I would come again unto him very speedily; wherewith he was content, promising to stay for me in the place where he was, and, for an earnest of his promise, he offered me his goodly skin, which I refused then, and promised to receive it of him at my return. For my part, I gave him certain small trifles, to the intent to retain him in our friendship.

Departing from thence, I had not sailed three leagues up the river, still being followed by the Indians, which coasted me along the river, crying, still, *amy! amy!* that is to say, friend, friend; but I discovered an hill of mean height, near which I went on land, hard by the fields that were sowed with mill, at one corner whereof there was an house built for their lodging, which keep and guard the mill; for there are such numbers of Cornish *choughes* in this country, which continually devour and spoil the mill, that the Indians are constrained to keep and watch it, otherwise they should be deceived of their harvest. I rested myself in this place for certain hours, and commanded Monsieur DE OTTIGNI, and my serjeant, to enter into the woods to search out the dwellings of the Indians; whereafter they had gone awhile, they came unto a marsh of reeds, where, finding their way to be stopped, they rested under the shadow of a mighty bay tree to refresh themselves a little, and to resolve which way to take. Then they discovered, as it were, on the sudden, five Indians, half hidden in the woods, which seemed somewhat to distrust our men, until they said unto them, in the

1564. Indian language, *Antipola Bonassou*, to the end that, understanding their speech, they might come unto us more boldly, which they did incontinently. But, because they saw that the four that went last bear up the train of the skin wherewith he that went foremost was appareled, our men imagined that the foremost must needs be some man of greater quality than the rest, seeing that, withal, they called, *paracoussy*, *paracoussy*; wherefore some of our company went towards him, and, using him courteously, showed him M. DE OTTIGNI, their lieutenant, for whom they had made an arbor, with bay and palm-boughs, after the Indian fashion, to the end that, by such signs, the savages might think the Frenchmen had companied with such as they at other times.

The Indian *paracoussy* drew near to the French, and began to make him a long oration, which tended to no other end, but that he besought the Frenchmen, very earnestly, to come and see his dwelling and his parents, which they granted him, and straight, for pledge of better amity, he gave unto my lieutenant, OTTIGNI, the very skin that he was clad with. Then he took him by the hand, leading him right toward the marshes, over which the *paracoussy*, M. DE OTTIGNI, and certain other of our men, were borne upon the Indians' shoulders; and the rest, which could not pass because of the mire and reeds, went through the woods, and followed a narrow path which led them forth until they came unto the *paracoussy's* dwelling, out of which there came about fifty Indians, to receive our men gallantly, and to feast them after their manner. After which, they brought at their entrance a great vessel of earth, made after

a strange fashion, full of fountain water, clear, and very excellent. This vessel was borne by an Indian, and there was another younger, which bear of this water in another little vessel of wood, and presented, thereof, to every one to drink, observing, in doing the same, a certain order and reverence, which he made to each of them to whom he gave drink. Our thirst well quenched by this means, and our men being sufficiently refreshed, the *paracoussy* brought them to his father's lodging, one of the oldest men that lived upon the earth. Our men, regarding his age, began to make much of him, using this speech, *amy, amy*, that is to say, friend, friend; whereat the old sire showed himself very glad. Afterward, they questioned with him concerning the course of his age: whereunto he made answer, showing that he was the first living original, from whence five generations were descended, as he showed unto them by another old man that sat directly over against him, which far exceeded him in age; and this man was his father, which seemed to be rather a dead carcass than a living body; for his sinews, his veins, his arteries, his bones, and other parts, appeared so clearly through his skin, that a man might easily tell them, and discern them, one from another. Also, his age was so great, that the good man had lost his sight, and could only speak one word, but with exceeding great pain. M. DE OTTIGNI having seen so strange a thing, turned to the younger of these two old men, praying him to vouchsafe to answer him to that which he demanded touching his age. Then the old man called a company of Indians, and, striking twice upon his thigh, and laying his hand upon two of them, he

1564. showed him, by signs, that these two were his sons; again smiting upon their thighs, he showed him others, not so old, which were the children of the first two; which he continued in the same manner, until the fifth generation. But, though this old man had his father alive, more old than himself, and that both of them did wear their hair very long, and as white as possible, yet it was told them, that they might yet live thirty or forty years more, by the course of nature, although the younger of them both was not less than two hundred and fifty years old!

After he had ended his communication, he commanded two young eagles to be given to our men, which he had bred up for his pleasure in his house. He caused, also, little panniers, made of palm-leaves, full of gourds, red and blue, to be delivered unto them. For recompense of which presents, he was satisfied with French toys. Their two old men caused our men to be guided back again to the place from whence they came, by the young *paracoussy*, which had brought them thither; and, having taken leave of the *paracoussy*, they came and sought me out in the place where I staid, and rehearsed unto me all that they had seen, praying me, also, that I would reward their guide, which so frankly and heartily had received them into his house, which I would not fail to do by any means.

Now was I determined to search out the qualities of the hill, wherefore I went right to the top thereof, where we found nothing else but cedar, palm, and bay trees, of so sovereign odor, that balm smelleth nothing like in comparison. The trees were environed round about with vines, bearing grapes in such quantity, that the number would suffice to make the place

habitable. Beside this fertility of the soil for vines, a man may see *esquine* wreathed about the shrubs in great quantity. Touching the pleasure of the place, the sea may be seen plain and open from it; and more than six great leagues off, near the *River Belle*, a man may behold the meadows divided asunder into isles and islets, interlacing one another; briefly, the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholic would be enforced to change their humor.

After I had staid there awhile, I embarked again my people to sail towards the mouth of the river, where we found the *para-coussy*, which, according to his promise, waited for us. Wherefore, to content him, we went on shore, and did him that reverence that on our parting was requisite. Then he gave me the skin so richly painted, and I recompensed him, with somewhat of our merchandise. I forgot not to demand of him the place whence the wedge of silver came, which he had given me before; whereunto he made me a very sudden answer, which, notwithstanding, I understood not, which he well perceived. And then he showed me, by evident signs, that all of it came from a place more within the river by certain day's journey from this place, and declared unto us, that all that which they had thereof, they got it by force of arms, of the inhabitants of this place, named by them *Thimogoa*, their most ancient and natural enemies, as he largely declared. Whereupon, when I saw with what affection he spake, when he pronounced *Thimogoa*, I understood what he would say. And, to bring myself more into his favor, I promised him to accompany him with all my force, if he would fight against them; which

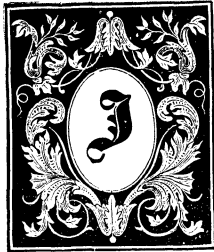
1564. thing pleased him in such sort, that, from thenceforth, he promised himself the victory of them, and assured me that he would make a voyage thither, within a short space, would cause store of mill to be prepared, and would command his men to make ready their bows, and furnish themselves with such store of arrows, that nothing should be wanting to give battle to *Thimogoa*. In fine, he prayed me, very earnestly, not to fail of my purpose; and, in so doing, he hoped to procure me gold and silver in such good quantity, that mine affairs should take effect according to mine own and his desire.

The matter thus fully resolved upon, I took my leave of him to return unto my ships, where, after we had rested ourselves all the night following, we hoisted sail the next day, very early in the morning, and sailed toward the *River of Seine*, distant from the *River of May* about four leagues; and there, continuing our course toward the north, we arrived at the mouth of *Somme*, which is not past six leagues distant from the *River of Seine*, where we cast anchor, and went on shore to discover that place as we had done the rest. There we were graciously and courteously received of the *paracoussy* of the country, which is one of the tallest men, and best proportioned that may be found. His wife sat by him, which, besides her Indian beauty, where-with she was greatly endowed, had so virtuous a countenance and modest gravity, that there was not one amongst us but did greatly commend her; she had in her train five of her daughters, of so good grace and so well brought up, that I easily persuaded myself that their mother was their mistress, and had taught them well and straightly to preserve their honesty. After that

the *paracoussy* had received us, as I have said, he commanded his wife to present me with a certain number of bullets of silver ; 1564. for his own part, he presented me with his bow and arrows, as he had done unto Captain JOHN RIBAUT, in our first voyage, which is a sign of perpetual amity and alliance with those which they honor with such a kind of present.

CHAPTER VII.

1564.



IN our discoursing with one another, we entered into speech as touching the exercise of arms. Then the *paracoussy* caused a corselet to be set on end, and prayed me to make a proof of our harquebuses and their bows; but this proof pleased him very little; so, as soon as he knew that our harquebuses did easily pierce that which all the force of their bows could not hurt, he seemed to be sorry, musing with himself how this thing might be done. Nevertheless, going about to dissemble in his mind that which his countenance could not do by any means, he began to fall into another matter, and prayed us, very earnestly, to stay with him that night in his house, or lodging, affirming that no greater happiness could come unto him than our long abode, which he desired to recompense with a thousand presents.

Nevertheless, we could not grant him this point, but took our leave of him to return to our ships, where, soon after, I caused all my company to be assembled, with the masters and pilots of my ships, to consult together of the place whereof we should

1564.

make choice to plant our habitation. First, I let them understand how none of them were ignorant, that the part which was toward the *Cape of Florida*, was altogether a marsh country, and, therefore, unprofitable for our inhabitation: a thing which could neither yield profit to the King, nor any contentment or pleasure to us, if, peradventure, we would inhabit there. On the other side, if we passed further toward the north to seek out *Port Royal*, it would neither be very profitable nor convenient; at the least, if we should give credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the haven were one of the fairest of the West Indies; but that, in this case, the question was not so much of the beauty of the place, as of things necessary to sustain life. And that for our inhabiting, it was much more needful for us to plant in places plentiful of victuals, than in goodly havens, fair and deep, and pleasant to the view.

In consideration, whereof, that I was of opinion, if it seemed good unto them, to seat ourselves about the *River of May*, seeing, also, that, in our first voyage, we found the same only among all the rest to abound in maize and corn, besides the gold and silver that was found there: a thing that put me in hope of some happy discovery in time to come. After I had proposed these things, every one gave his opinion thereof; and, in fine, all resolved, namely, those which had been with me in the first voyage, that it was expedient to seat themselves rather on the *River of May*, than on any other, until they might hear news out of France. This point being thus agreed upon, we sailed toward the river, and used such diligence that, with the

1564. favor of the winds, we arrived there the morrow after, about the break of day, which was on Thursday, 29th of June.

Having cast anchor, I embarked all my stuff, and the soldiers of my company, to sail right toward the opening of this river, wherein we entered a good way up, and found a creek, of a reasonable bigness, which invited us to refresh ourselves a little, while we reposed ourselves there. Afterward, we went on shore, to seek out a place, plain, without trees, which we perceived from the creek. But, because we found it not very commodious for us to inhabit there, we determined to return unto the place which we had discovered before when we had sailed up the river.

This place is joining to a mountain, and it seemed unto us more fit and commodious to build a fortress than that where we were last. Therefore, we took our way towards the forests, being guided therein by the young *paracoussy* which had led us before to his father's lodging. Afterward, we found a large plain, covered with high pine trees, distant a little from the other, under which we perceived an infinite number of stags, which brayed against the plain, athwart the which we passed; then we discovered a little hill adjoining unto a great vale, very green, and, in form, flat; wherein were the fairest meadows of the world, and grass to feed cattle. Moreover, it is environed with a great number of brooks of fresh water, and high woods, which make the vale more delectable to the eye. After I had taken the view, thereof, at mine ease, I named it, at the request of our soldiers, the *Vale of Laudonnière*. Thus, we went forward: anon, having gone a little forward, we met an Indian

woman, of tall stature, which also was an hermaphrodite, who came before us with a great vessel, full of clear fountain water, wherewith she greatly refreshed us: for we were exceeding faint by reason of the ardent heat, which molested us as we passed through those high woods. And, I believe, that without the succor of that Indian hermaphrodite, or rather, if it had not been for the great desire which we had to make us resolute of ourselves, we had taken up our lodging in the woods. Being, therefore, refreshed by this means, we gathered our spirits together, and, marching with a cheerful courage, we came to the place which we had chosen to make our habitation in: whereupon, at that instant, near the river's brink, we strewed a number of boughs and leaves, to take our rest on them the night following, which we found exceeding sweet, because of the pain which before we had taken in our travel.

On the morrow, about break of day, I commanded a trumpet to be sounded, that, being assembled, we might give GOD thanks for our favorable and happy arrival. Then we sang a psalm of thanksgiving unto GOD, beseeching him that it would please him of his grace to continue his accustomed goodness toward us, his poor servants, and aid us in all our enterprises, that all might turn to his glory and the advancement of our King. The prayer ended, every man began to take courage.

Afterward, having measured out a piece of ground, in the form of a triangle, we endeavored ourselves of all sides—some to bring earth, some to cut faggots, and others to raise and make the rampart; for there was not a man that had not either a shovel, or cutting-hook, or hatchet, as well to make the ground

1564. plain by cutting down the trees, as for the building of the fort, which we did hasten, in such cheerfulness, that, within a few days, the effect of our diligence was apparent; in which mean space the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA, our nearest neighbor, and on whose ground we built our fort, came, usually accompanied with his two sons, and a great number of Indians, to offer to do us all courtesy. And I, likewise, for my part, bestowed divers of our trifles frankly on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more desirous of our friendship, in such sort, that, as the days increased, so our amity and friendship increased also.

After that our fort was brought into form, I began to build a grange, to retire my munitions and things necessary for the defence of our fort, praying the *paracoussy* to command his subjects to make us a covering of palm-leaves, and this to the end that when that was done, I might unfreight my ships, and put under coverture those things that were in them. Suddenly, the *paracoussy* commanded, in my presence, all the Indians of his company to dress, the next day morning, so good a number of palm-leaves, that the grange was covered in less than two days. So that business was finished; for, in the space of those two days, the Indians never ceased from working—some in fetching palm-leaves, others in interlacing them, in such sort, that their king's commandment was executed as he desired.

Our fort was built in the form of a triangle: the side toward the west, which was toward the land, was inclosed with a little trench, and raised with turns made in form of a battlement, of nine feet high; the other side, which was toward the river, was inclosed with

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*a palisade of planks of timber, after the manner that gabions are made. On the south side, there was a kind of bastion, within which I caused an house for the munition to be built; it was all builded with faggots and sand, saving about two or three feet high, with turf, whereof the battlements were made. In the midst, I caused a great court to be made, of eighteen paces long and broad, in the midst whereof, on the one side drawing toward the south, I builded a corps de gard, and an house on the other side, toward the north, which I caused to be raised somewhat too high, for, within a short while after, the wind beat it down; and experience taught me that we may not build with high stages in this country, by reason of the winds whereunto it is subject. One of the sides that enclosed my court, which I made very fair and large, reached unto the range of my munitions, and, on the other side, towards the river, was mine own lodging, round about which were galleries, all covered. One principal door of my lodging was in the midst of the great place, and the other was toward the river. A good distance from the fort, I built an oven, to avoid the danger against fire, because the houses are of palm-leaves, which will soon be burnt after the fire catcheth hold of them, so that, with much ado, a man shall have leisure to quench them. Lo, here, in brief, the description of our fortress, which I named *Caroline*, in honor of our prince, King CHARLES.*

CHAPTER VIII.

1564.



AFTER we were furnished with that which was most necessary, I would not lose a minute of an hour without employing of the same in some virtuous exercise: therefore, I charged Monsieur DE OTTIGNI, my lieutenant, a man in truth, worthy of all honor for his honesty and virtue, to search up within the river, what this *Thimogoa* might be, whereof the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA had spoken to us so often at our coming on shore. For execution hereof, the *paracoussy* gave him two Indians for his guides, which, taking upon them to lead him in this voyage, seemed to go unto a wedding, so desirous they were to fight with their enemies.

Being embarked, they hoisted sail, and, having sailed about twenty leagues, the Indians, which still looked on this side and that side to espy some of their enemies, discovered three canoes, and immediately they began to cry, *Thimogoa! Thimogoa!* and spake nothing else, but to hasten forward to fight with them, which the captain seemed to be willing to do, to content them. When they came to board them, one of the Indians got hold of

an halbert, another of a cutlass, in such a rage, that he would have leaped into the water to have fought with them alone. Nevertheless, OTTIGNI would not let them do it; for while he deferred to board them, he gave the others respite to turn the prows of their canoes toward the shore, and so to escape into the woods. Again, the meaning of OTTIGNI was not to make war upon them of *Thimogoa*, but rather to make them friends, and to make them, thenceforth, to live in peace, one with another, if it were possible, hoping, by this means, to discover, daily, some new thing, and, especially, the certain course of the river. For this purpose, he caused the bark to retire, wherein were the two Indians (his guides), and went with his men toward the canoes, which were on the river's side. Being come unto them, he put certain trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which thing caused the Indians which were fled away, to return to their boats, and to understand, by this sign, that those of our bark were none of their enemies, but rather come only to traffic with them. Wherefore, being thus assured of us, they called to our men to come near unto them; which they did incontinently, and set foot on land, and spake freely unto them, with divers ceremonies over long to recount. In the end, OTTIGNI demanded of them, by signs, if they had any gold or silver among them; but they told him they had none, as then; and that, if he would send one of his men with them, they would bring him, without danger, into a place where they might have some. OTTIGNI seeing them so willing, delivered them one of his men, which seemed very resolute, to undertake this voyage: this fellow staid with them until ten of

1564. the clock next morning, so that Captain OTTIGNI, somewhat offended with his long stay, sailed ten great leagues further up the river, although he knew not which way he should go, yet he went so far up, that he espied the boat wherein his soldier was: which reported unto him, that the Indians would have carried him three great days' journey further, and told him that a king, named MAYARA, rich in gold and silver, dwelt in those quarters, and that, for small quantity of merchandise, enough might be had of him, yet that he would not hazard himself without his leave; and that he brought him a very little gold. This being done, our men returned toward our fort (*Fort Caroline*), after they had left the soldier with the Indians, to inform himself more and more of such things as he might discover more at leisure.

Fifteen days after this voyage to *Thimogoa*, I dispatched Captain VASSEUR, and my serjeant also, to return again into this country, and to seek out the soldier which remained there in the former voyage. Being, therefore, embarked, they sailed two whole days, and, before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the river's side, which were expressly sent unto that place to descry whether any of their enemies were come to that part, with intention to surprise them, as they did usually. When they perceived Captain VASSEUR, they knew, incontinently, that he was none of their enemies, and, therefore, made no difficulty to come near unto the bark, and showed him, by signs, that the soldier, which they sought, was not in that place, but was at that present time in the house of King MOLLOUA, which was vassal unto another great king,

named by them, OLATA OUAE UTINA, and, if the Captain would sail thitherward, he should come thither very quickly, wherewith he was content, and caused his men to row to that part which the Indians showed him: whereat they were so glad that they came quickly before, by land, to declare his arrival, which was at the lodging of King MOLLOUA, after he had rowed not past half a league. While King MOLLOUA had ended entertaining Captain VASSEUR and his men, the soldier came in with five or six pounds weight of silver, which he had trucked and trafficked with the Indians. This king caused bread to be made, and fish to be dressed, after the Indian fashion, to feast our men; to whom, while they were at meat, he made a discourse of divers other kings, his friends, and allies, reckoning up to the number of nine of them, by name, to wit: CADECHA, CHILILI, ECLAUOU, ENACAPPE, CALANY, ANACHARAQUA, OMITIAQUA, ACQUERA, MOQUOSO, all which, with him, to the number of more than forty, he assured us, to be the vassals of the most renowned OLATA OUAE UTINA.

This done, we went about, likewise, to discover the enemies of OLATA OUAE UTINA, in which number he placed, as the first, the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA, monarch of the confines of the *River of May*, which hath, under his obeisance, thirty other *paracoussies*, whereof there were ten, which were all his brethren, and that, therefore, he was greatly esteemed in those parts; then he named three others, no less puissant than SATOURIOUA, whereof the first dwelt two days' journey from his lord, OLATA OUAE UTINA, and ordinarily made war upon him, whose name was POTANOU, a man cruel in war, and pitiful in the execution

1564. of his fury. For he took the prisoners to mercy, being content to mark them on the left arm, with a great mark like unto a seal, and so imprinted as it had been touched with an hot iron; then he let them go without any more hurt. The two others were named ONATHEAQUA and HOUSTAQUA, being great lords, and abounding in riches; and principally ONATHEAQUA, which dwelt near unto the high mountains, wherein there was abundance of many rare things, and infinite quantity of a kind of flat stone, wherewith they made wedges to cleave their wood. The occasion which, as he said, moved POTANOU to wage war against OLATA OUAE UTINA, was the fear that he had, lest he and his companions should get of that hard stone in his country, wherewith they headed their arrows, and could not get it in any nearer place.

Besides all this, MOLLOUA recited to Captain VASSEUR, that the king's allies, the vassals of the great OLATA, armed their breasts, arms, thighs, legs, and foreheads, with large plates of gold and silver; and that, by this means, the arrows that were discharged upon them could do them no manner of hurt at all, but rather were broken against them. Hereupon, Captain VASSEUR inquired whether the kings (ONATHEAQUA and HOUSTAQUA) were like unto us; for, by the description that they made of them, he began to doubt whether they were Spaniards or not; but MOLLOUA told him that they were not, but that they were Indians, like the rest, saving that they painted their faces with black, and that the rest, as MOLLOUA, painted them with red. Then my lieutenant (VASSEUR), and my serjeant, promised him that, one day, I should march with my forces

into those countries, and that, joining myself with his lord (OLATA), I would subdue the inhabitants of the highest of those mountains. He was very glad of this speech, and answered, that the least of these kings which he had named should present unto the general of these the height of two feet of gold and silver, which, by force of arms, they had already gotten of those two kings (ONATHEAQUA and HOUSTAQUA). 1564.

The good cheer being done, and the discourses ended, my men embarked themselves again, with intention to bring me those good news unto the *Fort Caroline*; but, after they had sailed a very long while down the river, and were come within three leagues of us, the tide was so strong against them that they were constrained to go on land, and to retire themselves, because of the night, unto the dwelling of a certain *paracoussy*, named MOLONA, which showed himself very glad of their arrival; for he desired to know some news of *Thimogoa*, and thought that the Frenchmen went thither for none other occasion, but for to invade them. Which Captain VASSEUR perceiving, dissembled so well, that he made him believe that he went to *Thimogoa* with none other intention but to subdue them, and to destroy them with the edge of the sword, without mercy; but that their purpose had not such success as they desired, because that the people of *Thimogoa*, being advertised of this enterprise, retired into the woods, and saved themselves by flight; that, nevertheless, they had taken some as they were fleeing away, which carried no news thereof unto their fellows.

The *paracoussy* was so glad of this relation, that he interrupted him, and asked VASSEUR of the beginning and manner of his

1564. execution, and prayed him that he would show him, by signs, how all things passed. Immediately, FRANCIS LA CAILLE, the serjeant of my band, took his sword in his hand, saying, that, with the point thereof, he had thrust through two Indians, which ran into the woods; and that his companions had done no less for their parts; and that, if fortune had so favored them that they had not been discovered by the men of *Thimogoa*, they had a victory most glorious and worthy of eternal memory. Hereupon the *paracoussy* showed himself so well satisfied, that he could not devise how to gratify our men, which he caused to come into his house, to feast them more honorably; and, having made Captain VASSEUR to sit next him, and in his own chair (which the Indians esteem for the chiefest honor), and then, underneath him, two of his sons, goodly and mighty fellows, he commanded all the rest to place themselves as they thought good. This done, the Indians came, according to their good custom, to present their drink (*cassine*) to the *paracoussy*, and then to certain of his chiefest friends, and the Frenchmen. Then, he which brought it, set the cup aside, and drew out a little dagger, stuck up in the roof of the house, and, like a madman, he lifted his head aloft, and came apace, and went and smote an Indian which sat alone in one of the corners of the hall, crying, with a loud voice, *Hyou!* the poor Indian stirring not at all for the blow, which he seemed to endure patiently.

He which held the dagger, went quickly to put the same in its former place, and began again to give his drink as he did before; but he had not long continued, and had scarce given three or four thereof, but he left his bowl again, took the

dagger in his hand, and quickly returned unto him which he had stricken before, to whom he gave a very sore blow on the side, crying, *Hyou!* as he had done before, and then he went to put the dagger in its place, and set himself among the rest. A little while after, he that had been stricken, fell down backwards, stretching out his arms and legs, as if he had been ready to yield up the latter gasp. And then, the younger son of the *paracoussy*, appareled in a long, white skin, fell down at the feet of him that was fallen backward, weeping bitterly; half a quarter of an hour after, two others of his brethren, clad in like apparel, came about him that was so stricken, and began to sigh pitifully. Their mother, bearing a little infant in her arms, came from another part, and, going to the place where her sons were at the first, she used infinite numbers of outcries, then one, while lifting up her eyes to heaven, another, while falling down unto the ground; she cried so dolefully, that her lamentable mournings would have moved the most hard and stony heart in the world with pity. Yet this sufficed not, for there came in a company of young girls, which did never leave weeping, for a long while, in the place where the Indian was fallen down, whom afterward they took, and, with the saddest gestures they could devise, carried him away into another house, a little way off from the great hall of the *paracoussy*, and continued their weepings and mournings for the space of two long hours, in which, meanwhile, the Indians ceased not to drink *cassine*, but, with such silence, that one word was not heard in the parlor. VASSEUR being grieved that he understood not these ceremonies, demanded of the *paracoussy* what these things meant; which

1564. answered him slowly, *Thimogoa*, *Thimogoa*, without saying any more. Being more displeased than he was before with so slight an answer, he turned unto another Indian, the *paracoussy's* brother, who was a *paracoussy* as well as his brother, called MALICO, which made him a like answer as he did at the first, praying him to ask no more of these matters, and to have patience for that time. The subtle old *paracoussy* prayed him, within awhile after, to show him his sword; which he would not deny him, thinking that he would have beheld the fashion of his weapons; but he soon perceived that it was to another end; for, the old man, holding it in his hand, beheld it a long while on every place, to see if he could find any blood upon it, which might show that any of their enemies had been killed; for the Indians are wont to bring their weapons wherewith their enemies have been defeated, with some blood upon them, for a token of their victories. But, seeing no sign thereof, upon it, he was upon the point to say unto him, that he had killed none of the men of *Thimogoa*; whereas VASSEUR, preventing that which he might object, declared and showed unto him, by signs, the manner of his enterprise, adding, that by reason of the two Indians which he had slain, his sword was so bloody, that he was enforced to wash and make it clean a long while in the river; which the old man believed to be like to be true, and made no manner of reply thereto.

VASSEUR, LA CAILLE, and their other compatriots, went out of the hall to go unto the room whither they had carried the Indian. There they found the *paracoussy* sitting upon tapestries made of small reeds, which was at meat, after the Indian

1564.

fashion, and the Indian that was smitten, hard by him, lying upon the self-same tapestry; about whom stood the wife of the *paracoussy*, with all the young damsels, which before bewailed him in the hall, which did nothing else but warm a great deal of moss, instead of napkins, to rub the Indian's side. Hereupon, our men asked the *paracoussy*, again, for what occasion the Indian was so persecuted in his presence: he answered, that this was nothing but a kind of ceremony, whereby they would call to mind the death and persecutions of the *paracoussies*, their ancestors, executed by their enemy, *Thimogoa*; alleging, moreover, that as soon as he, himself, or any of his friends and allies returned from the country, without they brought the heads of their enemies, or without bringing home some prisoner, be used for a perpetual memory of all his predecessors, to beat the best beloved of all his children with the self-same weapons wherewith they had been killed in times past, to the end that, by renewing of the wound, their death should be lamented afresh. Now, when they were thus informed of those ceremonies, they thanked the *paracoussy* for their good entertainment, which they had received; and so, setting sail, they came to me unto the fort, where they declared all unto me, as I have recited it heretofore. On the 28th of July, our ships departed to return into France; and, within awhile, about two months after our arrival in Florida, the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA sent certain Indians unto me to know whether I would stand to my promise, which I had made him at my first arrival in that country: which was, that I would show myself friend to his friends, and enemy unto his enemies; and, also, to

1564. accompany him with a good number of harquebuses, when he should see it expedient, and should find a fit occasion to go to war. Now, seeing that he rested upon his promise, he prayed me not to defer the same. Seeing, also, that making that account thereof, he had taken such good order for the execution of his enterprise, that he was ready, and was furnished with all things that were necessary for the voyage, I made him answer, that, for his amity, I would not purchase the enmity of the other; and that albeit I would, yet, notwithstanding, I wanted means to do it; for it behoved me, at that present time, to make provision of victuals and munition for the defense of my fort. On the other side—that my barks were nothing ready, and that this enterprise would require time; moreover, that the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA might hold himself ready to depart within two months, and that, then, I would think of fulfilling my promise to him.

CHAPTER IX.



THE Indians carried this answer to their 1564.

paracoussy,* which was little pleased with it, because he could not defer his execution or expedition, as well because all his victuals were ready, as also because

ten other *paracoussies* were assembled with him for the performance of this enterprise. The ceremony which this savage used, before he embarked his army, deserveth not to be forgotten; for, when he was sitting down by the river's side, being compassed about with ten other *paracoussies*, he commanded water to be brought him speedily. This done, looking up into heaven, he fell to discourse of divers things, with gestures that showed him to be in exceeding great choler, which made him one while shake his head hither and thither; and, by and by, with, I wot not what fury, to turn his face towards the country of his enemies, and to threaten to kill them. He oftentimes looked upon the sun, praying him to grant him a glorious victory of his enemies; which, when he had done, by the space of half an hour,

* A generic appellation of the chiefs from Maryland to Florida.

1564. he sprinkled, with his hand, a little of the water, which he held in a vessel, upon the heads of the *paracoussies*, and cast the rest, as it were, in a rage and despite, into a fire, which was there prepared for the purpose. This done, he cried out, thrice, *He Thimogoa!* and was followed with five hundred Indians, at the least, which were there assembled, which cried, all with one voice, *He Thimogoa!* This ceremony, as a certain Indian told me, familiarly, signified nothing else but that SATOURIOUA besought the *Sun* to grant unto him so happy a victory, that he might shed his enemies' blood, as he had shed the water, at his pleasure. Moreover, that the *paracoussies*, which were sprinkled with a part of that water, might return with the heads of their enemies, which is the only, and chief, triumph of their victories.

The *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA* had no sooner ended his ceremonies, and had taken a view of all his company, but he embarked himself, and used such diligence with his *almadies*, or boats, that, the next day, two hours before the sun set, he arrived on the territories of his enemies, about eight or ten leagues from their villages. Afterward, causing them all to go on land, he assembled his counsel, wherein it was agreed, that five of the *paracoussies* should sail up the river with half of the troops, and, by the break of day, should approach into the

* SATOURIOUA (SATORIVA) was a powerful chief, claiming the territory around the mouth of the *St. Johns*, and northward along the coast nearly as far as the *Savannah*; and his influence extended to a considerable distance inland. "He showed himself an implacable enemy of the Spaniards. In 1567, he assisted DOMINGUE DE GOURGUES to destroy their settlements on the *St. Johns River*, the *St. Matheo* of the Spaniards."—BRINTON's *Notes on Florida*.

dwelling of their enemies. For his own part, that he would take his journey through the woods and forests, as secretly as he could ; and that when they were come thither, as well they that went up by water as he which went by land, should not fail, by the break of the day, to enter into the village, and cut them all in pieces, except the women and little children. 1564.

These things, which were thus agreed upon, were executed with as great fury as was possible ; which, when they had done, they took the heads of their enemies which they had slain, and cut off their hair, round about, with a piece of their skulls ; they took also twenty-four prisoners, which they led away, and retired themselves immediately into their boats, which waited for them. Being come thither, they began to sing praises unto the *Sun*, to whom they attributed their victory. And, afterwards, they put the skins of those heads on the end of their javelins, and went, altogether, toward the territories of *Paracoussy* OMOLOA, one of them which was in the company. Being come thither, they divided their prisoners, equally, to each of the *paracoussies*, and left thirteen of them to SATOURIOUA, which straightway dispatched an Indian, his subject, to carry news before of the victory, to them which staid at home to guard their houses, which immediately began to weep. But, as soon as night was come, they never left dancing, and playing a thousand gambols, in honor of the feast.

The next day, the *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA came home, who, before he entered into his lodging, caused all the hair-skulls of his enemies to be set up before his door, and crowned them with branches of laurel—showing, by this glorious spectacle, the

1564. triumph of the victory which he had obtained. Straightway began lamentation and mourning, which, as soon as the night began, were turned into pleasures and dances.

After that I was advised of these things, I sent a soldier unto SATOURIOUA, praying him to send me two of his prisoners; which he denied me, saying, that he was nothing beholding unto me, and that I had broken my promise against the oath which I had sworn unto him at my arrival. Which, when I understood by my soldier, which was come back with speed, I devised how I might be revenged of this savage, and to make him know how dearly this bold bravado of his should cost him; therefore, I commanded my serjeant to provide me twenty soldiers, and go with me to the house of SATOURIOUA. Where, after I was come, and entered into the hall without any manner of salutation, I went and sat me down by him, and staid a long while without speaking a word unto him, or showing him any sign of friendship, which thing put him deeply in his dumps; besides, that certain soldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had given express commandment to suffer no Indian to go forth. Having stood still about half an hour, with this countenance, at length I demanded where the prisoners were, which he had taken at *Thimogoa*, and commanded them presently to be brought unto me. Whereupon, the *paracoussy*, angry at the heart, and astonished wonderfully, stood a long while without making any answer; notwithstanding, at last, he answered me very stoutly, that, being afraid to see us coming thither in such warlike manner, they fled into the woods, and that, not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able, by any means, to

bring them again. Then I seemed to make as though I understood not what he had said, and asked for his prisoners again, and for some of his principal allies. Then SATOURIOUA commanded his *athore* to seek out the prisoners, and to cause them to be brought into that place; which thing he did, within an hour after.

After they were come to the lodging of the *paracoussy*, they humbly saluted me, and, lifting up their hands before me, they would have fallen down prostrate, as it were, at my feet; but I would not suffer them, and, soon after, led them away with me unto my own fort. The *paracoussy* being wonderfully offended with this bravado, bethought himself, by all means, how he might be revenged of us. But, to give us no suspicion thereof, and the better to cover his intention, he sent his messengers, oftentimes, unto us, bringing always with them some kind of presents. Among others, one day, he sent three Indians, which brought us two baskets full of great pumpions, much more excellent than those which we have in France, and promised me, in their king's behalf, that, during mine abode in that country, I should never want victuals. I thanked them for their king's good will, and signified unto them the great desire which I had, as well for the benefit of SATOURIOUA as for the quiet of his subjects, to make a peace between him and those of *Thimogoa*; which thing could not choose but turn to their great benefit, seeing that being allied with the kings of those parts, he had an open passage (ONATHEAQUA, his ancient enemy), which, otherwise, he could not set upon.

Moreover, that OLATA OUAE UTINA was so mighty a *para-*

1564. *coussy*, that SATOURIORA was not able to withstand his forces; but, being agreed together, they might easily overthrow all their enemies, and might pass the confines of the farthest rivers that were towards the south. The messengers prayed me to have patience until the morrow, at what time they would come again unto me, to certify of their lord's inclination, which they failed not to do; advertising me that *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA was the gladdest man in the world to treat of this accord (although, indeed, he was quite contrary), and that he besought me to be diligent therein, promising to observe and perform whatsoever I should agree upon with those of *Thimogoa*; which things the messengers also rehearsed unto the prisoners which I had led away. After they were departed, I resolved, within two days, to send back again the prisoners to OLATA OUAE UTINA, whose subjects they were; but, before I embarked them, I gave them certain small trifles, which were little knives, or tablets of glass, wherein the image of King CHARLES IX was drawn, very lively, for which they gave me very great thanks, as also for the honest entertainment which was given at *Fort Caroline*. After this, they embarked themselves, with Captain VASSEUR, and with M. DE ARLAC,* mine ensign, which I had sent of purpose to remain a certain time with OUAE UTINA, hoping that the favor of this great *paracoussy* would serve my turn greatly, to make any discoveries in time to come. I sent with him, also, one of my serjeants, and six gallant soldiers.

* This name, which often occurs, should be spelt "D'ERLACH." "Ce Gentil-homme," says CHARLEVOIX, "etoit Suisse, et il n'y a point de maison de Suisse plus connue que celle D'ERLACH."

Thus things passed on in this manner, and the hatred of *Paracoussy* SATOURIOUA against me did still continue, until that, on the 29th of August, a lightning from heaven fell within half a league from our fort; more worthy, I believe, to be wondered at, and to be put in writing, than all the strange signs which have been seen in times past, and whereof the histories have never been written. For, although the meadows were, at that season, all green, and half covered over with water, nevertheless, the lightning, in one instant, consumed about five hundred acres therewith, and burned, with the ardent heat, thereof, all the fowls which took their pastime in the meadows; which thing continued for three days' space—which caused us not a little to muse, not being able to judge whereof this fire proceeded. For one while, we thought that the Indians had burnt their houses, and abandoned their places, for fear of us; another, while we thought that they had discovered some ships on the sea, and that, according to their custom, they had kindled many fires, here and there, to signify that their country was inhabited; nevertheless, being not assured, I determined to send to *Paracoussy* SERRANAY to know the truth thereof. But, even as I was upon the point to send one by boat, to discover the matter, six Indians came unto me from *Paracoussy* ALLIMACANY, which, at their first entry, made unto me a long discourse, and a very large and ample oration (after they had presented me with certain basketsful of maize, of pumpions, and of grapes) of the loving amity which ALLIMACANY desired to continue with me, and that he looked, from day to day, when it would please me to employ him in my service. Therefore, considering the ser-

1564.

1564. viceable affection that he bare unto me, he found it very strange that I thus discharged mine ordnance against his dwelling, which had burnt up an infinite sight of green meadows, and consumed even down unto the bottom of the water; and came so near unto his mansion, that he thought he saw the fire in his house; wherefore, he besought me, most humbly, to command my men that they would not shoot any more towards his lodging, otherwise that, hereafter, he should be constrained to abandon his country, and to retire himself into some place further off from us.

Having understood the foolish opinion of this man, which, notwithstanding, could not choose but be very profitable for us, I dissembled what I thought thereof for that time, and answered the Indians with a cheerful countenance, that the relation which they made unto me of the obedience of their *paracoussy* did please me right well, because that, before, he had not behaved himself in such sort towards me, especially when I summoned him to send me the prisoners of great OLATA OUAE UTINA, which he detained; whereof, notwithstanding, he made no great account, which was the principal cause wherefore I had discharged mine ordnance against him; not that I meant to reach unto his house (as I might have done easily, if it had pleased me), but that I was content to shoot the half way, to make him know my force; assuring him, furthermore, that, on condition that he would continue in his good affection, no more ordnance should be discharged against him hereafter; and, besides, that I would become his faithful protector against his greatest enemies.

The Indians, contented with mine answer, returned, to assure

their *paracoussy*, which, notwithstanding the assurance, withdrew 1564. himself from his dwelling twenty or twenty-five leagues off, and that for the space of more than two months. After that three days were expired, the fire was quite extinguished; but, for two days after, there followed such an excessive heat in the air, that the river, near unto which we planted our habitation, became so hot, that I thought it was almost ready to seethe. For there died so great abundance of fish, and that of so many divers sorts, that, in the mouth of the river only, there were found dead enough to have loaded fifty carts, whereof there issued a putrefaction in the air, which bred many dangerous diseases amongst us, insomuch, that most of my men fell sick, and almost ready to end their days. Yet, notwithstanding, it pleased our merciful GOD so to provide, by his providence, that all our men recovered their health, without the loss of any one of them.

CHAPTER X.

1564.



onsieur de Arlac, Captain VASSEUR, and one of my serjeants, being embarked, with their ten soldiers, about the 10th of September, to carry back the prisoners unto UTINA, sailed so far up the river, that they discovered a place called *Maqarquá*, distant from our fort about four-score leagues, where the Indians gave them good entertainment, and in many other villages which they found. From this place, they rowed to the dwelling of *Paracoussy* UTINA,* which, after he had feasted them, according to his ability and power, prayed M. DE ARLAC, and all his soldiers, to stay awhile with him, to

* Modern antiquarians have located the territory and residence of OLATA OUTINA on the banks of the *River May* (*St. Johns*), near the northern extremity of *Lake George*. Among the tributaries of this great chief (*paracoussy*), were CADECHA, CHILILI, ENCAPPE, CALANY, ANACHARQUA, ACQUERRA, and MOQUOSO. The warriors of OUTINA covered their breasts, arms, thighs, and legs, with plates of gold and silver. He was the rival monarch of SATOURIOUA (SATORIVA), whose territory also extended along the *River May*. Other kings and chiefs lived farther south on that river, whose country abounded in gold and silver, from which M. LAUDONNIÈRE's officers procured large quantities in bars, supposed to have been taken from Spanish galleons, wrecked on the coast of Florida.

aid and assist him in battle against one of his enemies, called POTANOU; whereunto M. DE ARLAC consented willingly. And, 1564.
because he knew not how long he might have occasion to stay in these parts, he sent me (Captain VASSEUR) and the bark back again, which brought home only five soldiers with him.

Now, because the custom of the Indians is always to wage war by surprise, UTINA resolved to take his enemy, POTANOU, in the morning, by the break of day. To bring this to pass, he made his men to travel all the night, which might be in number two hundred persons; so well advised, that they prayed our French shot to be in the fore front, to the end (as they said), that the noise of their pieces might astonish their enemies; notwithstanding, they could not march so secretly but that those of the village of POTANOU, distant from the dwelling of UTINA about twenty-five leagues, were aware of them; which suddenly employed and bestowed all their endeavor to defend their village, inclosed all with trees, and issued out in great companies; but, finding themselves charged with shot (a thing wherewith they never had been acquainted), also beholding the captain of the band fall down dead, in the beginning of their skirmish, with a shot of an harquebuse, which struck him in the forehead, discharged by the hand of M. DE ARLAC, they left the place; and the Indians of UTINA got into the village, taking men, women, and children, prisoners.

Thus, *Paracoussy* UTINA obtained the victory by the aid of our men, which slew many of his enemies, and lost, in this conflict, one of their companions, wherewith UTINA was very much grieved. Eight or ten days after, I sent Captain VASSEUR back

1564. again, with a bark, to fetch home M. DE ARLAC and his soldiers, which, at their return, brought me certain presents from UTINA, as some silver, and a small quantity of gold, painted skins, and other things, with a thousand thanks, which the *paracoussy* gave me, and which promised, that if, in any enterprise of importance, I should have need of his men, he would furnish me with three hundred and above.

While I thus travelled, to purchase friends, and to practice one while with one here, and another while with another there, certain soldiers of my company were suborned, underhand, by one named LA ROQUETTE, of the country of *Perigott*, which put in their heads that he was a great magician, and that, by the secrets of art-magic, he had discovered a mine of gold and silver, far up within the river, whereby (upon the loss of his life) every soldier should receive, in ready bullion, the value of ten thousand crowns, besides and above fifteen hundred thousand, which should be reserved for the King's Majesty; wherefore they allied themselves with LA ROQUETTE and another of his confederates, whose name was LE GEURE, in whom, notwithstanding, I had great affiance. This LE GUERE,* exceeding desirous to enrich himself in those parts, and, seeking to be revenged, because I would not give him the carriage of the packet into France, secretly informed the soldiers that were already suborned by LA ROQUETTE, that I would deprive them of this great gain, in that I did set them daily on work, not sending them on every side to discover the countries; therefore,

* This name is sometimes, written "LE GENRÉ, a lieutenant who was somewhat in the confidence of M. LAUDONNIÈRE.

1564.

that it were a good deed, after they had made me understand so much, to seek means to dispatch me out of the way, and to choose another captain in my place, if I would not give them victuals, according to their disordinate appetite. He also brought me word here of himself, making a large discourse unto me of the good affection of the soldiers, which all besought me that I would conduct them to the countries where the mine was. I made him answer, that all could not go thither, and that it was necessary, before their departure, to settle our fortress in such estate, that those which were to stay at home behind should remain in security against the Indians which might surprise them.

Furthermore, that their manner of proceeding seemed strange unto me; for that they imagined that the King's Majesty was, at the charges of our voyage, for none other end, but only to enrich them at their first arrival, inasmuch as they showed themselves much more given unto covetousness than unto the service of their prince. But, seeing mine answer tended unto none other end but to make our fortress strong and defensible, they determined to travel in the work, and made an ensign of old linen, which, ordinarily, they bore upon the rampart when they went to work, always wearing their weapons, which I thought they had done to encourage themselves to work the better. But, as I perceived, afterwards, and that, by the confession of GEURE, sent me in letters which he wrote to me of that matter, these gentle soldiers did the same for none other end but to have killed me, and my lieutenant also, if, by chance, I had given them any hard speeches.

1564.

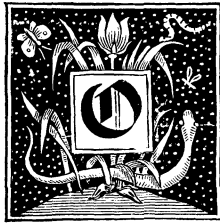
About the 20th of September, as I came home from the woods and coppices, to finish the building of my fort (and that, according to my usual manner, I marched first to give encouragement unto my soldiers), I chafed myself in such sore and grievous sickness, whereof I thought I should have died; during which sickness, I called LE GEURE often unto me, as one that I trusted above all others, and of whose conspiracies I doubted not any whit at all. In this, meanwhile, assembling his accomplices, sometimes in his chamber, and sometimes in the woods, to consult with them, he spake unto them to choose another captain, besides me, to the intent to put me to death; but, being not able, by open force, to execute his mischievous intention, he got him unto mine apothecary, praying him instantly to mingle in my medicine, which I was to receive one or two days after, some drug that should make me fritch over the perch, or, at the least, he would give me a little arsenic, or quicksilver, which he himself would put into my drink. But the apothecary denied him, as did, in like manner, Master S., which was master of the fire-works. Thus, wholly disappointed of both his means, he, with certain others, resolved to hide a little barrel of gunpowder underneath my bed, and, by a train, to set it on fire.

Upon these practices, a gentleman, which I had dispatched to return into France, being about to take his leave of me, advertised me, that LE GEURE had given him a book, full of all kind of lewd invectives and slanders against me, against Monsieur DE OTTIGNI, and against the principal of my company; upon which occasion, I assembled all my soldiers together, and Capt.

BOURDET, with all his ; which, on the 4th of September, arrived 1564.
in the road, and were come into our river. In their presence, I
caused the contents of the book to be read aloud, that they
might bear record of the untruths that were written against M.
LE GEURE, which had gotten him into the woods, for fear of
being taken (where he lived for awhile after with the savages,
by my permission), wrote unto me often, and, in many of his
letters, confessed unto me, that he had deserved death, con-
demning himself so far forth, that he referred all to my mercy
and pity.

1564.

CHAPTER XI.



ON the 7th or 8th day of November, after I had caused sufficient provision of such victuals as were needful to be made, I sent two of my men, to wit: LA ROCHE FERRIERE, and another, toward King UTINA, to discover, every day, more and more of the country—where he was the space of five or six months, during which he discovered many small villages, and, among others, one named *Hostaque*—the king, whereof, being desirous of my friendship, sent unto me a quiver, made of a lucern's skin, full of arrows, a couple of bows, four or five skins, painted after their manner, and a chain of silver, weighing about a pound weight. In recompense of which presents, I sent him two whole suits of apparel, with certain cutting-hooks, or hatchets.

After these things, therefore, in this sort, passed, about the 10th of this month, Captain BOURDET determined to leave me, and to return into France. Then I requested him—yea, rather was exceeding importunate with him—to carry home with him some six or seven soldiers, whom I could not trust, by any

means : which he did, for my sake, and would not charge himself with LE GUERE, which offered him a great sum of money, if it would please him to carry him into France : he transported him only to the other side of the river. Three days after his departure, thirteen mariners, which I had brought out of France, suborned by certain other mariners, which Captain BOURDET had left me, stole away my barks, in manner following : These mariners of Captain BOURDET put mine in the head, that if they had such barks as mine were, they might gain very much in the isles of the *Antilles*, and make an exceedingly profitable voyage. Hereupon, they began to devise how they might steal away my barks, and consulted, that when I should command them to go unto the village of *Sarauahi*, distant about a league and a half from our fort, and situated upon an arm of the river (whither, according to my manner, I sent them daily to seek clay, to make brick and mortar for our houses), they would return no more, but would furnish themselves with victuals, as well as they might possibly, and then would embark themselves, all in one vessel, and would go their way—as, indeed, they did. And, that which was worse, two Flemish carpenters, which the said BOURDET had left me, stole away the other bark, and, before their departure, cut the cables of the bark, and of the ship-boat, that it might go away with the tide, that I might not pursue them ; so that I remained without either bark or boat, which fell out as unluckily for me as possible ; for I was ready to embark myself, with all speed, to discover as far up our river as I might, by any means. Now, my mariners (as I understood afterwards) took a bark, that was a passenger of the

1564. Spaniards, near the *Isle of Cuba*, wherein they found a certain quantity of gold and silver, which they seized upon. And, having this booty, they lay awhile at sea, until their victuals began to fail them; which was the cause that, oppressed with famine, they came unto *Havana*, the principal town of the *Isle of Cuba*; whereupon proceeded that mischief, which, hereafter, I will declare more at large. When I saw my barks returned not at their wonted hour, and suspecting that which fell out, indeed, I commanded my carpenters, with all diligence, to make a little boat, with a flat bottom, to search those rivers for some news of these mariners. The boat, dispatched within a day and a night—by reason that my carpenters found planks and timber ready sawed to their hands, as, commonly, I caused my sawyers to provide it—I sent men to seek some news of my thieves; but all was in vain. Therefore, I determined to cause two great barks to be built, each of which might be thirty-five or thirty-six feet long in the keel. And now that the work was very well forward, which I had set my workmen about, when ambition and avarice (the mother of all mischief) took root in the hearts of four or five soldiers, which could not away with the work and pains-taking; and which, from thenceforward (namely, one FOURNEAUX, and one LA CROIX, and another, called STEVEN LE GENEVOIS, the three principal authors of the sedition), began to practice with the best of my troop, showing them that it was a vile thing for men of honest parentage, as they were, to turmoil themselves thus with abject and base work, seeing that they had the best occasion in the world offered them to make themselves all rich; which was to arm the two

barks which were in building, and to furnish them with good men; and thereto sail into Peru, and the other isles of the *Antilles*, where every soldier might easily enrich himself with ten thousand crowns. And, if their enterprise should be disliked, withal, in France, they should be always able, by reason of the great wealth that they should gain, to retire themselves into Italy, until the heat were overpast, and that, in the mean season, some war would fall out, which would cause all this to be quite forgotten. 1564.

This word of riches, sounded so well in the ears of my soldiers, that, in fine, after they had oftentimes consulted of their affairs, they grew to the number of three-score and six; which, to color their great desire which they had to go on stealing, they caused a request to be presented unto me, by FRANCIS DE LA CAILLE, serjeant of my company, containing, in sum, a declaration of the small store of victuals that was left to maintain us, until the time that ships might return from France; for remedy, whereof, they thought it necessary to send to New Spain, Peru, and all the isles adjoining, which they besought me to be content to grant. But, I made them answer, that, when the barks were finished, I would take such good order in general, that, by means of the King's merchandise, without sparing mine own apparel, we would get victuals of the inhabitants of the country; seeing, also, that we had enough to serve us for four months to come; for I feared greatly that, under pretense of searching for victuals, they would enterprise somewhat against the King of Spain's subjects, which, in time to come, might justly be laid to my charge, considering that, at

1564. our departure out of France, the Queen had charged me, very expressly, to do no kind of wrong to the King of Spain's subjects, nor anything whereof he might conceive any jealousy. They made as though they were content with this answer; but, eight days after, as I continued in working upon our fort, and on my barks, I fell sick. Then, my seditious companions, forgetting all honor and duty, supposing that they had found good occasion to execute their rebellious enterprise, began to practice, afresh, their former designs, handling their business so well, during my sickness, that they openly vowed that they would seize on the *guard du corps*, and on the fort; yea, and force me, also, if I would not consent unto their wicked desire. My lieutenant being, hereof, advertised, came and told me that he suspected some evil practice; and, the next day, in the morning, I was saluted at my gate, with men in complete harness, what time my soldiers were about to play me a shrewd trick; then I sent to seek a couple of gentlemen, whom I most trusted, which brought me word that the soldiers were determined to come to me, to make a request unto me. But, I told them, this was not the fashion to present a request unto a captain, in this manner; and, therefore, they should send some few unto me, to signify unto me what they would have.

Hereupon, the five chief authors of the sedition, armed with corselets, their pistols in their hands, already bent, pressed into my chamber, saying unto me, that they would go to New Spain, to seek their adventure.

Then I warned them to be well advised what they meant to do; but, they forthwith replied, that they were fully advised

1564.

already, and that I must grant them this request. Seeing, then, quoth I, that I am enforced to do it, I will send Captain VASSEUR, and my serjeant, which will make answer, and give me an account of everything that shall be done in this voyage; and, to content you, I think it good that you take one man out of every chamber, that they may accompany Captain VASSEUR and my serjeant. Whereupon, blaspheming the name of GOD, they answered, that they must go thither; and that there lacked nothing, but that I should deliver them the armor, which I had in my custody; for fear least I might use them to their disadvantage (being so villainously abused by them), wherein, notwithstanding, I would not yield unto them. But they took all by force, and carried it out of my house; yea, and after they had hurt a gentleman in my chamber which spake against their doings, they laid hands on me, and carried me, very sick as I was, prisoner into a ship which rode at anchor in the midst of the river; wherein I was the space of fifteen days, attended upon with one man only, without permission of any of my servants to come to visit me; from every one of whom, as also from the rest that took my part, they took away their armor. And they sent me a passport to sign, telling me, plainly, after I had denied them, that, if I made any difficulty, they would all come and cut my throat in the ship. Thus was I constrained to sign their passport; and, forthwith, to grant them certain mariners, with TRENCHANT, an honest and skillful pilot.

When the barks were finished, they armed them with the King's munition, with powder, with bullets, and artillery, as much as they needed, and chose one of my serjeants for their

1564. captain, named BERTRAND CONFERRENT; and, for their ensign, one named LA CROIX. They compelled Captain VASSEUR to deliver them the flag of his ship; then, having determined to sail unto a place of the *Antilles*, called *Lauguane*, belonging unto the King of Spain, and there to go on land, on Christmas night, with intention to enter into the church while the mass was said, after midnight, and to murder all those that they found there, they set sail on the 8th of December. But, because the greatest part of them, by this time, repented them of their enterprise, and that they now began to fall into mutinies among themselves when they came forth of the river, the two barks divided themselves—the one kept along the coast unto Cuba, to double the cape more easily, and the other went right forth to pass athwart the *Isles of Lacya*; by reason, whereof, they met not until five weeks after their departure. During which time, the bark that took her way along the coast, wherein one of the chief conspirators, named DE ORANGE, was captain, and TRENCHANT, his pilot, near unto a place, called *Archaba*, took a brigantine, laden with a certain quantity of *cassavi*—which is a kind of bread, made of roots, and yet, nevertheless, is very white, and good to eat—and some little wine, which was not without some loss of their men; for, in one assault that the inhabitants of *Archaba* made upon them, two of their men were taken, to wit: STEPHEN GOUDOU, and one named GRAND PRÈ, besides two more that were slain in the place, namely, NICOLAS MASTER, and DOUBLET; yet, nevertheless, they took the brigantine, wherein they put all their stuff that was in their own bark, because it was of greater burthen, and better

1564.

of sail than their own. Afterward, they sailed right unto the *Cape of Santa Maria*, near to *Leaguane*, where they went on land, to caulk and *braye* their ship, which had a great leak. In this, meanwhile, they resolved to sail to *Baracou*, which is a village of the *Isle of Jamaica*, where, at their arrival, they found a *caravel*, of fifty or three-score tons burthen, which they took, without anybody in it; and, after they had made good cheer in the village, the space of five or six days, they embarked themselves in it, leaving their second ship; then they returned to the *Cape of Tiburon*, where they met with a *patach*, which they took by force, after a long conflict. In this *patach*, the Governor of Jamaica was taken, with great store of riches, as well of gold and silver as of merchandise and wine, and many other things; wherein our seditious companions, not content, determined to seek more in their *caravel*, and their Governor of Jamaica, also. After they were come to Jamaica, they missed of another *caravel*, which did save itself in the haven. The governor, being fine and subtle, seeing himself brought unto the place which he desired, and where he commanded, obtained so much by his fair words, that they, which had taken him, let him put two little boys, which were taken with him, into a little cock-boat, and sent them to his wife into the village, to advertise her that she should make provision of victuals to send unto him. But, instead of writing unto his wife, he spake unto the boys secretly, that, with all diligence, she should send the vessels that were in the havens near that place, to succor and rescue him. Which she did, so cunningly, that, on a morning, about the break of the day, as our seditious companions were at the

1564. haven's mouth (which reacheth above two leagues up within the land), there came out of the haven a *malgualire*, which maketh sail both forward and backward, and then two great ships, which might be, each of them, of four-score or an hundred tons apiece, with good store of ordnance, and well furnished with men; at whose coming our mutinous fellows were surprised, being not able to see them when they came, as well because of the darkness of the weather, as, also, by reason of the length of the haven; considering, also, they mistrusted nothing. True it is, that five or six-and-twenty that were in the brigantine discovered these ships when they were near them, which, seeing themselves pressed for want of leisure to weigh their anchor, cut their cable, and the trumpeter, which was in it, advertised the rest; whereupon the Spaniards, seeing themselves descried, discharged a volley of cannon-shot against the Frenchmen, which they followed, by the space of three leagues, and recovered their own ships. The brigantine, which escaped away, passed sight of the *Cape des Aigrettes*, and the *Cape of St. Anthony*, situate in the *Isle of Cuba*, and, from thence, passed within the sight of *Havana*. But, TRENCHANT, their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certain other mariners of this brigantine, which were led away by force in this voyage (as elsewhere we have declared), desired nothing more than to return to me; wherefore, these men agreed together (if, peradventure, the wind served them well) to pass the channel of Bahama while their seditious companions were asleep; which they did accomplish with such good success, that, in the morning, toward the break of day, about the 25th of March, they arrived upon the coast of

Florida; where, knowing the fault which they had committed, 1564. in a kind of mockery, they counterfeited the judges; but they played not this prank until they had tippled well of the wine which remained yet in their prize. One counterfeited the judge, another personated my person; one other, after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus: "Make you your causes as good as it pleaseth you; but if, when you come to *Fort Caroline*, the captain cause you not to be hanged, I will never take him for an honest man." Others thought that, my choler being passed, I would easily forget this matter. Their sail was no sooner descried upon our coast, but the king of the place, named PATICA, dwelling eight leagues distant from our fort, and being one of our good friends, sent an Indian to advertise me that he had descried a ship upon the coast, and that he thought it was one of our nation. Hereupon, the brigantine, oppressed with famine, came to an anchor at the mouth of the *River of May*, when, at the first blush, we thought they had been ships come from France, which gave us occasion of great joy. But, after I had caused her to be better viewed, I was advertised that they were our seditious companions that were returned. Therefore, I sent them word, by Captain VASSEUR and my serjeant, that they should bring up their brigantine before the fortress, which they promised to do. Now, they were not above two leagues distance from the mouth of the river, where they cast anchor, unto the fortress. The next day, I sent the same captain and serjeant, with thirty soldiers, because I saw they much delayed their coming. Then they brought them; and, because certain of them had sworn, at their de-

1564. parture, that they would never come again within the fort, I was well pleased that they should keep their oath. For this purpose, I waited for them at the river's mouth, where I made my barks to be built, and commanded my serjeant to bring the four chief authors of the mutiny on shore, whom I caused, immediately, to be put in fetters; for my meaning was not to punish the rest, considering that they were suborned, and because my council, expressly assembled for this purpose, had concluded that these four only should die, to serve for an example to the rest. In the same place, I made an oration unto them, in this manner:

“My friends, you know the cause why our King sent us unto this country; you know that he is our natural prince, whom we are bound to obey, according to the commandment of GOD, in such sort that we ought neither to spare our goods, or lives, to do those things that concern his service; ye know, or, at least, you cannot be ignorant, that, besides this general and natural obligation, you have this also joined thereunto; that, in receiving of him reasonable pay and wages, you are bound to follow those whom he hath established over you, to be your governors, and to command you, in his name; having, for this purpose, given him an oath of fidelity, which you cannot, by any means, revoke for any fair appearance which you have to do the contrary; for this is reason, that seeing you live upon his charges, upon this condition (this is reason, I say) that you should be faithful unto him. Notwithstanding you have had more regard unto your unbridled affections than unto virtue, which invited you to the observance of your oath, in such sort

that, being become contemnners of all honesty, you have passed your bonds, and thought that all things were lawful for you. 1564. Whereupon, it is fallen out, that while you thought to escape the justice of men, you could not avoid the judgment of God, which, as a thing by no means to be avoided, hath led you, and, in spite of you, hath made you to arrive in this place, to make you confess how true his judgments are, and that he never suffereth so foul a fault to escape unpunished."

After that I had used unto them these, or the like speeches, following that which we had agreed upon in council in respect of the crimes which they had committed, as well against the King's Majesty as against me, which was their captain, I commanded that they should be hanged. Seeing, therefore, that there was no starting-hole, nor means at all to save themselves from this arrest, they took themselves unto their prayers; yet, one of the four, thinking to raise a mutiny among my soldiers, said thus unto them: "What, brethren and companions, will you suffer us to die so shamefully?" And, taking the words out of his mouth, I said unto him: "That they were not companions of authors of sedition, and rebels unto the King's service." Hereupon the soldiers besought me not to hang them, but rather let them be shot through, and then, afterward, if I thought good, their bodies might be hanged upon certain gibbets along the haven's mouth, which I caused presently to be put in execution. So, here, what was the end of my mutinous soldiers, without which I had always lived peaceably, and enjoyed the good desire, which I had, to make an happy and quiet voyage? But, because I have spoken of nothing but their

1564. accidents and adventures which happened unto them after their departure, without making any mention of our fort, I will return to the matters from which I digressed, to declare that which fell out after their departure. First, I began to consider I might confirm and make myself more constant in mine affliction, that these murmurers could not ground their sedition upon want of victuals; for, from the time of our arrival, every soldier, daily, unto this day, and, besides, until the 28th of February, had a loaf of bread, weighing twenty-two ounces. Again, I recounted, with myself, that all new conquests, by sea and by land, are, ordinarily, troubled with rebellions, which are easy to be raised, as well in respect of the distance of place as in respect of the hope that the soldiers have to make their profits, as we may be well informed, both by ancient histories, and also by the troubles which lately happened unto CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS after his first discovery, to FRANCIS PIZARRO, and DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, in Peru, and to FERNANDO CORTEZ. An hundred thousand other things came unto my mind to encourage and confirm me. My lieutenant, OTTIGNI, and the serjeant of my band, came to seek me in the ship, where I was prisoner, and carried me from thence in a bark, as soon as our rebels were departed. After I was come unto the fort, I caused all my company that remained to be assembled in the midst of the place, before the *corps de garde*, and declared unto them the faults which they, that had forsaken us, had committed, praying them to bear them in memory, to bear witness, thereof, when need should require. Forthwith, I ordained new captains to command the troops, and prescribed them an order, according

whereunto they were to govern themselves from henceforth, and to enter into their watch; for the greatest part of the soldiers, of whom I had the best opinion, were gone away with them. My declaration ended, they all promised me, with one accord, to obey me most humbly, and to do whatsoever I should command them, though it were to die at my feet, for the King's service; wherein, assuredly, they never after failed, so that, I dare say, after the departure of my mutinous companions, I was as well obeyed as ever was captain in place where he commanded. The next day, after my return unto the fort, I assembled my men together again, to declare unto them that our fort was not yet finished, and that it was needful that all of us should put, thereto, our helping hands, to assure ourselves against the Indians; wherein, having willingly agreed unto me, they raised it all with turf from the gate unto the river, which is on the west side. This done, I set my carpenters on work to make another bark, of the same bigness that the others were of; I commanded the sawyers that they should prepare planks, the smiths to prepare upon nails, and, certain others, to make coal, so that the bark was finished in eighteen days. Afterwards, I made another, less than the first, the better to discover up the river. In this mean space, the Indians visited me, and brought me, daily, certain presents—as fish, deer, turkey-cocks, leopards, and little bears, and other things, according to the place of their habitation. I recompensed them with certain hatchets, knives, beads of glass, combs, and looking-glasses. Two Indians came unto me one day, to salute me, on behalf of their king, whose name was MARRACOU, dwelling from the

1564. place of our fort some forty leagues toward the south, and told me that there was one in the house of King ONATHAQUA, which was called BARBU, or the bearded man; and, in the house of King MATHIACA, another man, whose name they knew not, which was not of their nation; whereupon, I conceived that these might be some Christians. Wherefore, I sent to all the kings, my neighbors, to pray them, that, if there were any Christians dwelling in their countries, they would find means that he might be brought unto me; and that I would make them double recompense. They, which love rewards, took so much pains, that the two men whereof we have spoken, were brought unto the fort unto me. They were naked, wearing their hair long unto their hams, as the savages used to do, and were Spaniards born; yet, so well accustomed to the fashion of the country, that, at the first sight, they found our manner of apparel strange. After that I had question of certain matters with them, I caused them to be appareled, and to cut their hair, which they would not loose, but lapped it up in a linen cloth, saying, that they would carry it into their country, to be a testimony of the misery that they had endured in the Indies. In the hair of one of them was found a little gold hidden, to the value of five-and-twenty crowns, which he gave unto me. And, examining them of the places where they had been, and how they came thither, they answered me, that, fifteen years past, three ships, in one of which they were, were cast away over against a place, named *Calos*,* upon the flats, which are

* "This word," says BRINTON, "is still preserved in the *Seminole* appellation of the *Sanybal River* (*Caloosa-Hatchie*), and in that of the *Bay of Carlos*, corrupted by the

called *The Martyrs*, and that the King of *Calos** recovered the greatest part of the riches which were in the said ships; traveling in such sort, that the greatest part of the people were saved, and many women, among which number there were three or four married women, remaining there yet, and their children also, with this King of *Calos*. I desired to learn what this king was; they answered me, that he was the goodliest and the tallest Indian of the country, a mighty man, a warrior, and having many subjects under his obedience. They told me, moreover, that he had great store of gold and silver, so far forth; that, in a certain village, he had a pit-full thereof, which was, at the least, as high as a man, and as large as a ton, all which wealth the Spaniards fully persuaded themselves that they could cause me to recover, if I were able to march thither with a hundred shot, besides that which I might get of the common people of the country, which had also great store thereof. They further, also, advertised me, that the women, going to dance, did wear, about their girdles, plates of gold as broad as a saucer, and, in such number, that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease, and that the men wear the like also. The greatest part of these riches was had, as they said, out of the Spanish ships, which, commonly, were cast away in this strait; and the rest, by the traffic which this King of *Calos* had with the other kings of the country. Finally, that he was had

1564.

English to *Charlotte Harbor*, both on the south-western coast of the *Peninsula*, near north latitude twenty-six degrees forty minutes."

* "Ce *Calos* ou *Callos* sont anthropophages, et fort cruel, ils demeurent dans une baye qu'il porte également leur nom et celui de *Ponce de Leon*."—CHARLEVOIX.

1564. in great reverence of his subjects, and that he made them believe that his sorceries and charms were the causes that made the earth bring forth her fruit; and, that he might the easier persuade them that it was so, he retired himself, once or twice a year, to a certain house, accompanied with two or three of his most familiar friends, where he used certain enchantments; and, if any man intruded himself to go to see what they did in this place, the king, immediately, caused him to be put to death.

Moreover, they told me, that, every year, in the time of harvest, this savage king sacrificed one man, which was kept expressly for this purpose, and taken out of the number of the Spaniards, which, by tempest, were cast alway upon that coast. One of these two declared unto me, that he had served him a long time for a messenger, and that, oftentimes, by his commandment, he had visited a king, named ONATHAQUA, distant from *Calos* four or five days' journey, which always remained his faithful friend; but that, in the midway, there was an island, situate in a great lake of fresh water, named *Sarroke*,* about five leagues in bigness, abounding with many sorts of fruits, especially in dates, which grow on the palm trees, whereof they make a wonderful traffic; yet not so great as of a kind of root whereof they make a kind of meal, so good to make bread of, that it is impossible to eat better; and that, for fifteen leagues about, all the country is fed therewith, which is the cause that the inhabitants gain of their neighbors great wealth and profit, for they will not part with this root without they be well paid

* Supposed to be *Lake Ware*, in *Marion County*.

for it. Besides that, they are taken for the most warlike men of all that country, as they made good proof when the King of *Calos*, having made alliance with ONATHAQUA, was deprived of ONATHAQUA's daughter, which he had promised to him in marriage. 1564.

He told me the whole matter, in this sort: As ONATHAQUA, well accompanied with his people, carried one of his daughters, exceeding beautiful, according to the color of the country, unto King CALOS, to give her unto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this isle, advertised of the matter, laid an ambush for him in a place where he should pass, and so behaved themselves, that ONATHAQUA was discomfited, the betrothed young spouse taken, and all the damsels that accompanied her, which they carried within the isle, which thing, in all the Indian's country, they esteem to be the greatest victory; for, afterward, they marry these virgins, and love them above all measure. The Spaniards that made this relation told me, that, after this defeat, he went to dwell with ONATHAQUA, and had been with him full eight years, even until the time that he was sent unto me. The place of *Calos* is situated upon a river, which is beyond the *Cape of Florida*, forty or fifty leagues toward the south-west; and the dwelling of ONATHAQUA is on this side of the cape, toward the north, in a place which we call, in the chart, CANNAVERAL, which is in twenty-eight degrees.

CHAPTER XII.

1564.



ABOUT the 25th of January, *Paracoussy** SATOURIOUA, my neighbor, sent me certain presents, by two of his subjects, to persuade me to join with him, and to make war upon OUAÉ UTINA, which was my friend: and further sought me to retire certain of my men, which were with UTINA—for whom, if it had not been, he had oftentimes set upon him, and defeated him. He besought me, herein, by divers other kings, his allies, which, for three weeks or a month's space, sent messengers unto me, to this end and purpose; but I would not grant unto them that they should make war upon him: yea, rather contrariwise, I endeavored to make them friends; wherein they condescended unto me, so far forth, that they were content to allow of anything that I would set down; whereupon, the two Spaniards—which, of long time, knew well the nature of the Indians—

* “Among the *Caloosas*, the *paracoussy*, or king, was considered of divine nature, and believed to have the power to grant or withhold seasons favorable to the crops, and fortune in the chase. In war, the *paracoussy* led the van—and, in peace, sat in the council house to receive the homage of his inferiors, and advise with his counselors on points of national interest.”—BRINTON'S *Notes on Florida*.

warned me that, in any case, I should not trust unto them ; 1564.
because that, when they showed good countenance, and the
best cheer unto men, then was the time that they would
surprise and betray them ; and that, of their nature, they were
the greatest traitors, and most deep dissemblers of the world.
Besides, I never trusted them but upon good ground, as one
that had discovered a thousand of their crafts and subtleties, as
well by experience as by reading of the histories of late years.

Our two barks were not so soon finished, but I sent Captain
VASSEUR to discover—along the coast lying toward the north,
and commanded him to sail unto a river, the king whereof was
called AUDUSTA, which was lord of that place—where those of
the year 1562 inhabited. I sent him two suits of apparel, with
certain hatchets, knives, and other small trifles, the better to
insinuate myself into his friendship. And, the better to win
him, I sent in the bark, with Captain VASSEUR, a soldier, called
AIMON, which was one of them which returned home in the
first voyage, hoping that King AUDUSTA might remember
him. But, before they were embarked, I commanded them to
make inquiry what was become of another, called ROUFFI,
which remained alone in those parts, when NICHOLAS MASON,
and those of the first voyage, embarked themselves to return
into France. They understood, at their arrival there, that a
bark, passing that way, had carried away the same soldier ; and,
afterward, I knew, for a certainty, that they were Spaniards
which had carried him to *Havana*. The King AUDUSTA sent
me back my bark full of mill, with a certain quantity of beans,
two stags, some skins (painted after their manner), and certain

1564. pearls, of small value, because they were burnt; and sent me word, that, if I would dwell in his quarters, he would give me a great country, and that, after he had gathered his mill, he would spare me as much as I would have. In the meanwhile, there came unto our fort a flock of stock-doves, in so great number, and that for the space of seven weeks together, that, every day, we killed, with harquebuse-shot, two hundred in the woods about our fort. After that Captain VASSEUR was returned, I caused the two barks to be furnished again with soldiers and mariners, and sent them to carry a present from me unto the widow of HIOCAIA, whose dwelling was distant from our fort about twelve leagues northward. She courteously received our men, sent me back my barks full of mill and acorns, with certain baskets-full of the leaves of *cassine*, wherewith they make their drink. And the place where this widow dwelleth, is the most plentiful of mill that is in all the coast, and the most pleasant. It is thought that the queen is the most beautiful of all the Indians, and of whom they make most account; yea, and her subjects honor her so much, that always continually they bear her on their shoulders, and will not suffer her to go on foot. Within a few days after the return of my barks, she sent to visit me by her *hiatiqui*, which is as much as to say, as her interpreter. Now, while I thought I was furnished with victuals until the time that our ships might come out of France (for fear of keeping my people idle), I sent my two barks to discover, along the river, and up toward the head, thereof, which went so far up that they were thirty leagues good beyond a place, named *Mathiaqua*; and there they discovered

the entrance of a lake, upon the one side, whereof no land could be seen, according to the report of the Indians, which had, oftentimes, climbed on the highest trees in the country to see land, and, notwithstanding, could not discern any, which was the cause that my men went no further, but returned back; and, in coming home, went to see the *Island of Edelano*, situated in the midst of the river—as fair a place as any that may be seen through the world; for, in the space of some three leagues (that it may contain in length and breadth), a man may see an exceedingly rich country, and marvelously peopled. At the coming out of the village of *Edelano*, to go unto the river's side, a man must pass through an alley, about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad, on both sides, whereof, great trees are planted, the boughs, whereof, are tied together like an arch, and meet together, so artificially, that a man would think it were an arbor, made of purpose, as fair, I say, as any in all Christendom, although it be all natural.

Our men, departing from this place, rowed to *Eneguape*, then to *Chilily*; from thence to *Patika*; and, lastly, they came unto *Coya*—where, leaving their barks, in a little creek of the river, with men to guard them, they went to visit *UTINA*, which received them very courteously; and, when they departed from his house, he entreated them so earnestly, that six of my men remained with him—of which number there was one gentleman, named *GROUTALD*, which, after he had abode there about two months, and taken great pains to discover the country, with another which I had left a great while there to that intent, came unto me to the fort, and told me that he never saw a fairer

1564. country. Among other things, he reported unto me, that he had seen a place, named *Hostagua*: and that the king, thereof, was so mighty, that he was able to bring three or four thousand savages to the field; with whom, if I would join, and enter into league, we might be able to reduce all the rest of the inhabitants unto our obedience. Besides, that this king knew the passages unto the mountain of *Apalatci*, which the Frenchmen desired so greatly to attain unto, and where the enemy of *HOSTAGUA* made his abode, which was easy to be subdued, if so be we would enter into league together. The king sent me a plate of a mineral that came out of this mountain—out of the foot, whereof, there runneth a stream of gold or copper (as the savages think), out of which they dig up the sand, with an hollow and dry cane or reed, until the cane be full; afterward they shake it, and find that there are many small grains of copper and silver among this sand, which giveth them to understand that some rich mine must needs be in the mountain; and, because the mountain was not past five or six days' journey from our fort, lying toward the north-west, I determined, as soon as our supply should come out of France, to remove our habitation unto some river more toward the north, that I might be nearer thereunto.

One of my soldiers, whose name was *PETER GAMBY*, which had remained a long space before in this country, to learn the language and traffic with the Indians, at the last, came to the village of *Edelano*, where, having gotten together a certain quantity of gold and silver, and purposing to return unto me, he prayed the king of the village to lend him a canoe (which

is a vessel made of one whole piece of wood, which the Indians used to fish, withal, and to row upon the rivers), which this lord of *Edelano* granted him. But, being greedy of the riches which he had, he commanded two Indians, which he had charged to conduct him in the canoe, to murder him, and bring him the merchandise and the gold which he had—which the two traitors villainously executed; for they knocked him on the head with an hatchet, as he was blowing the fire, in the canoe, to seethe fish. 1564.

CHAPTER XIII.

1564.



THE *Paracoussy* UTINA sent, certain days afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteen of my shot to invade his enemy, POTANOU; and sent me word, that, this enemy once vanquished, he would make me passage; yea, and would conduct me unto the mountains, in such sort, that no man should be able to hinder me. Then I assembled my men to demand their advice, as I was wont to do in all mine enterprises. The greater part was of opinion that I should do well to send succor unto this *paracoussy*; because it would be hard for me to discover any further up into the country without his help, and that the Spaniards, when they were employed in their conquests, did always enter into alliance with some one king to ruin another. Notwithstanding, because I did always mistrust the Indians, and that the more after the last advertisement that the Spaniards had given me, I doubted lest the small number which UTINA demanded might incur some danger, wherefore I sent him thirty shot, under the charge of Lieutenant OTTIGNI, which staid not above two days with UTINA, while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which,

ordinarily, and, according to the custom of the country, are carried by women and young boys, and by hermaphrodites. 1564.
UTINA, setting forward with three hundred of his subjects, having, each of them, their bow and quiver full of arrows, caused our thirty shot to be placed in the forward, and made them march all the day, until that, the night approaching, and having not gone past half the way, they were enforced to lie all night in the woods, near a great lake, and there to encamp themselves. They separated themselves by six and six, making, each of them, a fire about the place where their king lay, for whose guard they opened a certain number of those archers in whom he put most confidence. As soon as day was come, the camp of the Indians marched within three leagues of POTANOU; there, King UTINA requested my lieutenant to grant him four or five of his men to go and discover the country, which departed immediately, and had not gone far but they perceived, upon a lake, distant about three leagues from the village of POTANOU, three Indians, which fished in a canoe. Now, the custom is, that, when they fish in this lake, they have always a company of watchmen, armed with bows and arrows, to guard the fishers. Our men being, hereof, advertised by those of the company, durst not pass any further, for fear of falling into some ambush, wherefore, they returned towards UTINA, which suddenly sent them back, with a greater company, to surprise the fishers before they might retire and advertise their king (POTANOU) of the coming of his enemies, which they could not execute so politely, but that two of them escaped; the third, also, did the best he could to save himself by swim-

1564. ming, in which, meanwhile, he was slain with shot of arrows ; and they drew him back, stark dead, unto the bank-side, where our Indians flayed off the skin of his head, and cut off both his arms, in the highway, reserving his hair for the triumph, which their king hoped to make, for the defeat of his enemy. UTINA, fearing lest POTANOU, advertised by the fishers which were escaped, should put himself in arms to withstand him valiantly, asked counsel of his *lawá* (which is as much as to say, in their language, as his magician), whether it were best to go any further ; then this magician made certain signs, hideous and fearful to behold, and used certain words ; which, being ended, he said unto his king, that it was not best to pass any further, and that POTANOU, accompanied with two thousand Indians, at the least, staid in such and such a place for him, to bid him battle ; and, besides this, that all the said Indians were furnished with cords to bind the prisoners, which they made full account to take.

This relation caused UTINA to be unwilling to pass any further ; whereupon my lieutenant, being as angry as ever he might be, because he had taken so great pains, without doing anything of account, said unto him, that he would never think well of him, nor of his people, if he would not hazard himself ; and that, if he would not do it, at the least, that he would give him a guide to conduct him and his small company to the place where the enemies were encamped. Hereupon UTINA was ashamed, and, seeing the good affection of M. DE OTTIGNI, determined to go forward, and he failed not to find his enemies in the very place which the magician had named, where the

1564.

skirmish began, which lasted three long hours; wherein, without doubt, UTINA had been defeated, unless our harquebuses had not borne the burthen and brunt of all the battle, and slain a great number of the soldiers of POTANOU, upon which occasion they were put to flight. Wherewithal, UTINA, being content, for the present, caused his people to retire, and return homeward, to the great discontentment of M. DE OTTIGNI, which desired nothing more than to pursue his victory. After he was come home to his house, he sent messengers to eighteen or twenty villages of other kings (his vassals), and summoned them to be present at the feasts and dances, which he purposed to celebrate, because of his victory. In the meanwhile, M. DE OTTIGNI refreshed himself for two days, and then, taking his leave of the *paracoussy*, and leaving twelve of his men to see that POTANOU, bethinking himself of his late loss, should come to burn the houses of UTINA, he set forward on his way to come unto me, unto our fort, where he up and told me how everything had passed; and, withal, that he had promised the twelve soldiers that he would come back again to fetch them. Then the kings, my neighbors, all enemies to UTINA, being advertised of the return of my lieutenant, came to visit me, with presents, and to inquire how things had passed, praying me, all, to receive them into my favor, and to become enemy to UTINA; which, notwithstanding, I would not grant them, for many reasons that moved me.

The Indians are wont to leave their houses, and to retire themselves into the woods, the space of three months, to wit: January, February, and March, during which time, by no

1564. means, a man can see one Indian; for, when they go on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themselves, living upon that which they take in hunting. This was the cause that, during this time, we could get no victuals by their means; and, had it not been that I had made good provision, thereof, while my men had store, until the end of April (which was the time when, at the uttermost, we hoped to have had succor out of France), I should have been greatly amazed. This hope was the cause that the soldiers took no great care to look well unto their victuals, although I divided, equally among them, that which I could get abroad in the country, without reserving unto myself any more than the least soldier of all the company. The month of May approaching, and no manner of succor come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals—constrained to eat the roots of the earth, and certain sorrel, which we found in the fields; for, although the savages were returned by this time into their villages, yet they succored us with nothing but certain fish, without which, assuredly, we had perished with famine. Besides, they had given us, before, the greatest part of their maize, and of their beans, for our merchandise. This famine held us from the beginning of May until the midst of June, during which time the poor soldiers and handicraftsmen became as feeble as might be, and, being not able to work, did nothing but go, one after another, in sentinel, unto the cliff of an hill, situate very near unto the fort, to see if they might discover any French ship. In fine, being frustrated of their hope, they assembled, all together, and came to beseech me to

take some order that they might return unto France, considering that, if we let pass the season to embark ourselves, we were never like to see our country; where it could not be chosen but that some troubles were fallen out, seeing they had broken their promise made unto us, and that no succor was come from thence. Thereupon, it was consulted and resolved, by all the company, that the bark *Breton* should be trimmed up, whereof Captain VASSEUR had charge. But, because the ship was not big enough to receive us all, some thought good to build the brigantine two decks higher, which our mutinous soldiers had brought back, and that twenty-five men should hazard themselves, to pass therein, into France; the rest, being better advised, said, that it should be far better to build a fair ship, upon the keel of the galiot which I had caused to be made, promising to labor courageously thereupon. Then I inquired of my shipwrights to know in what space they could make this ship ready. They assured the whole company, that, being furnished with all things necessary, they would make it ready by the 8th of August. Immediately, I disposed of the time to work upon it. I gave charge to M. DE OTTIGNI, my lieutenant, to cause timber, necessary for the finishing of both the vessels, to be brought; and, to M. DE ARLAC, my standard-bearer, to go with a bark, a league off from the fort, to cut down trees, fit to make planks, and to cause the sawyers, which he carried with him, to saw them; and, to my serjeant of the company, to cause fifteen or sixteen men to labor, in making coal; and, to Master HANCE, keeper of the artillery, and, to the gunner, to gather store of rosin to bray the ves-

1564. sels; wherein he used such diligence, that, in less than three weeks, he gathered two hogsheads of the same together. There remained, now, but the principal, which was to recover victuals to sustain us while our work endured, which I undertook to do, with the rest of my company, and the mariners of the ship. To this end, I embarked myself, making up the thirtieth, in my great bark, to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues, having with us no provision at all of victuals, whereby, it may easily be gathered, how simply those of our fort were provided. True it is, that certain soldiers, being better husbands than the rest, and having made some provision of mast, sold a little measure, thereof, for fifteen or twenty *sous*, unto their companions. During our voyage, we lived on nothing else but *raspices*, of a certain round grain, little and black, and of the roots of palmettos, which we got by the river sides; wherein, after we had sailed a long time, in vain, I was constrained to return unto the fort, where the soldiers, beginning to be weary of working, because of the extreme famine which did consume them, assembled themselves, and declared unto me that, seeing they could get no victuals of the Indians, it was expedient, for the saving of their lives, to seize upon the person of one of the kings of the country, assuring themselves that, one being taken, the subjects would not suffer our men to want victuals.

I made them answer, that this enterprise was not rashly to be attempted; but that we ought to have good regard unto the consequence that might issue thereof. Hereupon, they replied unto me, that, seeing the time was past of our succor from France, and that we were resolved to abandon the country, and

that there was no danger to constrain the savages to furnish us with victuals ; which, for the present, I would not grant unto them, but promised them, assuredly, that I would send to advertise the Indians that they should bring me victuals for exchange of merchandise and apparel ; which they also did, for the space of certain days, during which they brought of their mast, and of their fish ; which, these Indians being traitorous, and mischievous of nature, and, knowing our exceeding strange famine, sold us at so dear a price, that, for less than nothing, they had gotten from us all the rest of our merchandise which remained. And, which was worse, fearing to be forced by us, and, seeing that they had gotten away all from us, they came no nearer to our fort than the shot of an harquebuse. Thither they brought their fish, in their little boats ; to which our poor soldiers were constrained to go ; and, oftentimes, as I have seen, to give away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish. If, at any time, they showed unto the savages the excessive price which they took, these villians would answer them roughly and churlishly ; “ if thou make so great account of thy merchandise, eat it, and we will eat our fish.” Then fell they out a-laughing, and mocked us with open throat. Whereupon our soldiers, becoming utterly impatient, were oftentimes ready to cut them in pieces, and to make them pay the price of their foolish arrogance. Notwithstanding, considering the importance, hereof, I took pains to appease the impatient soldiers ; for I would not, by any means, enter into question with the savages, and it sufficed me to delay the time. Wherefore, I devised to send unto UTINA, to pray him to deal, so far

1564.

1564. forth, with his subjects, as to succor me with mast and maize ; which he did, very sparingly, sending me twelve or fifteen baskets of mast, and two of *pinocks*, which are a kind of little green fruit, which grow among the weeds, in the river, and are as big as cherries. Yea, and this was not but by giving in exchange twice as much merchandise and apparel as they were worth ; for the subjects of UTINA perceived, evidently, the necessity wherein we were, and began to use the like speech unto us, as the others did, as it is commonly seen that need altereth men's affections.

While these things were in doing, a certain breathing-space presented itself ; for UTINA gave me to understand that there was a king, his subject, whose name was ASTINA, which he determined to take prisoner, and to chastise him for his disobedience ; that, for this cause, if I would give him aid, with a certain number of my soldiers, he would bring them to the village of ASTINA, where there was means to recover mast and maize. In the mean season, he excused himself unto me, because he had sent me no more maize, and sent me word that the little store that he had left was scarcely sufficient for his seed-corn. Now, being somewhat relieved, as I thought, by the hope which I had of this offer, I would not fail to send him the men which he desired of me, which, nevertheless, were very evil entreated ; for he deceived them, and, instead of leading them against ASTINA, he caused them to march against his other enemies. My lieutenant, which had charge of this enterprise, with Captain VASSEUR and my serjeant, was determined to be revenged of UTINA, and to cut him in pieces, and

his people; and, had it not been that they feared to do anything against my will, without all doubt they would have put their enterprise into execution. Therefore, they would not pass any further without advertising me thereof. Wherefore, being come back again into the fort, angry, and pricked deeply to the quick for being so mocked, they made their complaints unto me, declaring unto me that they were almost dead for hunger. While they told the whole matter to the rest of the soldiers, which were very glad that they had not entered into that action, and resolved, assembling themselves again together, to let me understand that they did persist in their first deliberation, which was, to punish the boldness and maliciousness of the savages, which they could no longer endure, and were determined to take one of their kings prisoner; which thing I was enforced to grant unto them, to the end—to avoid a greater mischief, and the sedition which, I foresaw, would ensue, if I had made refusal thereof; for, said they, what occasion have you to deny us, considering the necessity wherein we are, and the small account that they make of us? Shall it not be lawful for us to punish them for the wrongs which they have done unto us? Besides, that we know, apparently, how little they respect us, is not this sufficient, although there were no necessity at all, since they thus delude us, and have broken promise with us? After, therefore, I had resolved with them, to seize on the person of UTINA, which, besides that he had given us occasion hereof, was also most able to help us to recover victuals, I departed, with fifty of my best soldiers, all embarked in two barks, and arrived in the dominions of UTINA, distant 1564.

1564. from our fort about forty or fifty leagues; then, going on shore, we drew towards his village, situated six great leagues from the river, where we took him prisoner—howbeit, not without great cries and alarms—and led him away in our barks, having first signified unto his father-in-law, and his chief subjects, that, in that I had taken him, it was not for any desire that I had to do him any harm, but only to relieve my necessities and want of victuals, which oppressed me, and that, in case they would help me to some, I would find means to set him again at liberty; that, in the mean space, I would retire myself into my barks (for I feared lest they would there assemble themselves together, and that some mischief might thereof ensue), where I would stay for him two days to receive his answer, notwithstanding that, my meaning was, not to have anything without exchange of merchandise. This they promised they would do; and, in very deed, the very same evening, his wife, accompanied with all the women of the village, came unto the river's brink, and cried unto me to enter into the bark, to see her husband and her son, which I held both prisoners. I discovered, the next day, five or six hundred Indian archers, which drew near unto the river side, and came to me, to signify unto me how that, during the absence of their king, their enemy, POTANOU, being thereof advertised, was entered into their village, and had set all on fire. They prayed me that I would succor them; nevertheless, in the meanwhile, they had one part of their troop in ambush, with intent to set upon me if I had come on land—which was easy for me to discern; for, seeing that I refused to do so, they greatly doubted that they

were discovered, and sought, by all means, to remove out of 1564.
my mind that evil opinion which I had conceived of them.
They brought me, therefore, fish, in their little boats, and of
their meal of mast; they made, also, of their drink, which they
called *cassine*, which they sent to UTINA and me.

CHAPTER XIV.

1564.



OW, albeit that I had gotten this point of them, that I held their king prisoner, yet, nevertheless, I could not get any great quantity of victuals, for the present. The reason was—because they thought that, after I had drawn victuals from them, I would put their king to death; for they measured my will according to their custom, whereby they put to death all the men-prisoners that they take in war. And thus, being out of all hope of his liberty, they assembled themselves in the great house, and, having called all the people together, they proposed the election of a new king, at which time the father-in-law of UTINA set one of the king's young sons upon the royal throne, and took such pains, that every man did him homage by the major part of the voices. This election had like to have been the cause of great troubles among them; for there was a kinsman of the king, near adjoining, which pretended a title to the kingdom—and, indeed, he had gotten one part of the subjects. Notwithstanding this enterprise could not take effect—forasmuch, as by a common consent of the chiefs, it was con-

sulted (and concluded) that the son was more meet to succeed 1564.
the father than any other. Now, all this while, I kept UTINA with me, to whom I had given some of mine apparel to clothe him, as I had likewise done unto his son. But, his subjects, which, before, had an opinion that I would have killed him, being advertised of the good entertainment which I used toward him, sent two men, which walked along the river, and came to visit him, and brought us some victuals. These two men, at their coming, were received by me with all courtesy, and entertained according to the victuals which I had. While these things passed, there arrived, from all quarters, many savages of the country adjoining, which came to see UTINA, and sought, by all means, to persuade me to put him to death—offering, that if I would do so, they would take order that I should want no victuals. There was, also, a king, my neighbor, whose name was SATOURIOUA—a subtle and crafty man, and one that showed, by proof, that he was greatly practised in affairs. This king sent, ordinarily, messengers unto me, to pray me to deliver UTINA unto him; and, to win me the more easily, he sent, twice, seven or eight baskets of maize or of mast, thinking, by this way, to allure me, and to make me come to composition with him. In the end, notwithstanding, when he saw he lost his time, he ceased to visit me with embassies and victuals. In the meanwhile, I was not able, with the same store of victuals which I had, so well to proportion out the travel upon the ships which we built to return into France; but that, in the end, we were constrained to endure extreme famine, which continued among us all the

1564. month of May; for, in this latter season, neither maize, nor beans, nor mast, was to be found in the villages, because they had employed all for to sow their fields, insomuch that we were constrained to eat roots, which the most part of our men pounded in the morters (which I had brought with me to beat gunpowder in), and the grain which came to us from other places. Some took the wood of *esquine*, beat it, and made meal thereof, which they boiled with water, and eat it; others went, with their harquebuses, to seek to kill some fowl. Yea, this misery was so great, that one was found that gathered up, among the filth of my house, all the fish-bones that he could find, which he dried, and beat into powder, to make bread thereof.

The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among us, for our bones soon began to cleave so near unto the skin, that the most part of the soldiers had their skins pierced through with them, in many parts of their bodies, in such sort, that, my greatest fear was, lest the Indians would rise up against us, considering that it would have been very hard for us to have defended ourselves in such extreme decay of all our forces, besides the scarcity of all victuals, which failed us all at once; for the very river had not such plenty of fish as it was wont, and it seemed that the land and water did fight against us. Now, as we were thus upon terms of despair, about the end of the month of May and the beginning of June, I was advertised, by certain Indians, that were my neighbors, that, in the high country above the river, there was new maize, and that that country was most forward of all. This caused

me to take upon me to go thither with a certain number of my men; and I went up the river, to a place called *Enecaque*, where I met the sister of *UTINA*, in a village, where she made us very good cheer, and sent us fish. We found that which was told us to be true, for the maize was now ripe; but, by this good luck, one shrewd turn happened unto me. For the most part of my soldiers fell sick with eating more of it than their weakened stomachs could digest. We had, also, been the space of four days, since we departed from our fort, without eating anything, saving little *pinocks*, and a little fish, which we got of the fishers, which we met sometimes along the river; and yet, this was so little, that, certain soldiers, eat privily, little whelps, which were newly whelped. The next day, I purposed to go into the *Isle of Edelano*, to take the king, which had caused one of my men to be slain, as I have mentioned before; but, being advertised of my departing out of my fort, and of the way which I took up the river, he feared that I went forth with a purpose to be revenged of the evil turn which he played; so that, when I came thither, I found the houses empty; for he was retired a little before, with all his people, and I could not, by any means, keep my soldiers being angry, because they had lost one of their companions, from setting the village on fire. At my departure from thence, I passed back again by *Enecaque*, where I gathered as much maize as I could possibly; which, with great diligence, I conveyed to our fort, to succor my poor men, which I had left in great necessity. They, therefore, seeing me afar off coming, ran to that side of the river where they thought I would come on land; for hunger so pinched

1564.

1564. them to the heart, that they could not stay until the victuals were brought them to the fort. And that, they well showed, as soon as I was come, and that I had distributed that little maize among them, which I had given to each man before I came out of the bark, for they eat it before they had taken it out of the husk. But, seeing myself in this extreme need, I took pains, day by day, to seek some villages where there was some food; and, as I travelled, this way and that way, it happened that two of my carpenters were killed by the two sons of King EMOLA, and by one, whose name was CASTI, as they went on walking to the village called *Athore*. The cause of this murder was, because they could not refrain themselves, as they walked through the fields, from gathering a little maize, which, as they were doing, they were taken in the manner, whereof I was presently advertised by an Indian, which, a little before, had brought me a present from NIA CUBACANI, queen of a village, and neighbor to our fort. Upon receipt of this advertisement, I sent my serjeant, with a number of soldiers, which found nothing else but the two dead corpses, which they buried, and returned, without doing any other exploit, because the inhabitants were fled away, fearing they should be punished for such a foul act. As these things thus passed, and that, by this time, we had almost driven out the month of May, two subjects of King UTINA came unto me, with an hermaphrodite, which showed me that, by this time, the maize was ripe in the greatest part of their quarters. Whereupon UTINA signified unto me, that, in case I would carry him home to his house, he would take such good order that I should have plenty of

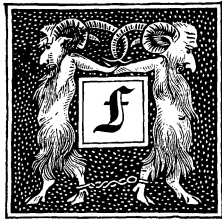
maize and beans; and, withal, that the field which he had 1564. caused to be sown for me, should be reserved to my use. I consulted with my men concerning this matter, and found, by the advice of all my company, that it was best to grant him his request, saying, that he had means to succor us, with food sufficient to serve our turns for our embarkment, and that, therefore, I might do well to carry him home. Wherefore I caused the two barks to be forthwith made ready, wherein I sailed to *Patica*, a place distant from his village eight or nine leagues, where I found nobody, for they were gotten into the woods, and would not show themselves; albeit, *UTINA* showed himself unto them, forasmuch as they imagined that I should be constrained to let him go. But, seeing nobody to show themselves, I was constrained to hazard one of my men, which had been acquainted with the state of the country, to whom I delivered the young son of *UTINA*, and commanded him to go, with diligence, to the village of *UTINA*, unto his father-in-law, and his wife, to advertise them, that, if they would have their king again, they should bring me victuals unto the side of the little river, whither I was gone. At my man's coming, every one made much of the little child, neither was there a man that thought not himself well afraid to touch him.

His father-in-law and his wife, hearing of these news, came presently towards our barks, and brought bread, which they gave unto my soldiers. They held me there three days, and, in the meanwhile, did all that they could to take me, which, presently, I discovered, and, therefore, stood diligently upon my guard. Wherefore, perceiving they could not have their pur-

1564. pose, and that they were already discovered, they sent to advertise me that, as yet, they could not help me to victuals, and that the corn was not yet ripe. Thus, I was constrained to return, and to carry back UTINA home, where I had much ado to save him from the rage of my soldiers, which, perceiving the maliciousness of the Indians, went about to have murdered him. Moreover, it seemed they were content that they had gotten the son, and that they cared not greatly for the father. Now, my hope failing me on this side, I devised to send my men to the villages where I thought the maize was, by this time, ripe. I went to divers places, and continued so doing fifteen days, when, as UTINA besought me, again, to send him unto his village, assuring himself that his subjects would not stick to give me victuals; and that, in case they refused so to do, he was content that I should do what I thought good with him. I undertook this voyage the second time, with the two barks, furnished as before. At my coming unto the little river, we found his subjects there, which failed not to come thither with some quantity of bread, beans, and fish, to give my soldiers. Nevertheless, returning again to their former practice, they sought all means to entrap me, hoping to cry quittance for the imprisonment of their king if they might have gotten the victory of me. But, after that they saw the small means which they had to annoy me, they returned to entreaties, and offered that, if I would give them their king, with certain of my soldiers, they would conduct them unto the village, and that, the subjects seeing him, would be more willing to give us victuals. Which thing, notwithstanding, I would not grant

unto them (mistrusting their subtlety, which was not so covert but that one might espy day at a little hole), until they had first 1564.
given me two men in pledge, with charge, that, by the next day, they should bring me victuals. Which thing they granted, and gave me two men, which I put in chains, for fear they should escape away, as I knew well they were instructed to do.

CHAPTER XV.

1564.

OUR days were spent in these conferences, at the end, whereof, they declared unto me, that they could not fully and wholly perform their promise; and that the uttermost that they could do, for the present, was to cause each subject to bring his burthen of mill. To conclude, they were content to do so, on condition that I would send them their two pledges within ten days. As my lieutenant was ready to depart, I warned him, above all things, to take heed he fall not into the Indians' hands, because I knew them to be very subtle and crafty to enterprise and execute anything to our disadvantage. He departed, therefore, with his troop, and came to the small river whereunto we were accustomed to enter, to approach as near as we could unto the village of UTINA, being six French leagues distant from thence. There he went on shore, put his men in good array, and drew straight towards the great house that was the king's, where the chief men of the country were assembled, which caused very great store of victuals to be brought—now one, and then another; in doing, whereof, they spent, notwithstanding, three

1564.

or four days, in which, meanwhile, they gathered men together to set upon us in our retreat. They used many means, therefore, to hold us still in breath. For one, while they demanded their pledges—another, while (seeing my lieutenant would not yield unto them until such time as they had brought the victuals unto the boats, according to the agreement passed between us) they signified unto him that the women and young children were afraid, out of all measure, to see fire in their matches so near their harquebuses; and that, therefore, they most earnestly besought them to put them out; that they might more easily get people enough to carry the victuals; and that they, for their parts, would leave their bows and arrows, and would be contented that their servants should carry them. This second request was as flatly denied them as the former; for it was an easy matter to smell out their intention. But, while these things were thus in handling, UTINA, by no means to be seen, had hid and kept himself secret in a little house apart, where certain chosen men of mine went to see him—showing themselves agrieved with him for the long delays of his subjects. Whereunto he answered, that his subjects were so much incensed against us, that, by no means possible was he able to keep them in such obedience as he willingly would have done, and that he could not hold them from waging of war against M. DE OTTIGNI. That he, also, called to mind, that even while he was prisoner, at what time our men led him into his country to obtain some victuals, he saw, all along the highways, arrows stuck up, at the ends, whereof, long hairs were fastened, which was a certain sign of open war proclaimed, which arrows

1564.

the captain, also, carried with him to the fort. He said, further, that, in respect of the good will he bare to the captain, he forewarned his lieutenant that his subjects were determined to cut down the trees, and cause them to fall athwart the little river, where the boats were, to keep them from departing thence, that they might fight with them at their ease; and that, if it thus fell out, he assured him, for his part, he would not be there to meddle in the matter. And that which much more augmented the suspicion of war was, that, as my messengers departed from UTINA, they heard the voice of one of my men, which, during the voyage, had always been among the Indians, and whom, as yet, they would never render until they had gotten their pledges home. This poor fellow cried out amain, because two Indians would have carried him into the woods to have cut his throat, whereupon he was succored, and delivered. These admonitions being well understood, after ripe deliberation thereof, M. DE OTTIGNI resolved to retire himself the 27th day of July; wherefore, he set his soldiers in order, and delivered, to each of them, a sack full of mill, and, afterward, he marched toward his barks, thinking to prevent the enterprise of the savages. There is, at the coming forth of the village, a great alley, about three or four hundred paces long, which is covered, on both sides, with great trees; my lieutenant disposed his men in this alley, and set them in such order as they desired to march; for he was well assured that, if there were any ambush, it would be at the coming out of the trees. Therefore, he caused M. DE ARLAC, mine ensign, to march somewhat before, with eight harquebusiers, to discover if there were any danger; besides, he com-

manded one of my serjeants and corporals to march on the outside of the alley, with four harquebusiers, while he, himself, conducted the rest of his company through it. Now, as he suspected, so it fell out; for M. DE ARLAC met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, which saluted us with an infinite number of their arrows, and, with such fury, that it was easy to see with what desire they sought to charge us. Howbeit, they were so well sustained in the first assault which mine ensign gave them, that they which fell down dead did somewhat abate the choler of those which remained alive. This done, my lieutenant hastened to gain ground, in such sort as I have already said. 1564.

After he had marched about four hundred paces, he was charged afresh, with a new troop of savages, which were, in number, about three hundred, which assailed him before, while the rest of the former set upon him behind. This second assault was so valiantly sustained, that, I may justly say, that Monsieur DE OTTIGNI so well discharged his duty as was possible for a good captain to do. And so it stood them; for he had to deal with such kind of men as knew well how to fight, and to obey their head which conducted them, and which knew so well to behave themselves in this conflict, as, if OTTIGNI had not prevented their practice, he had been in danger to have been defeated. Their manner in this fight was, that, when two hundred had shot, they retired themselves, and gave place to the rest that were behind; and, all the while, had their eye and foot so quick and ready, that, as soon as ever they saw the harquebuse laid to the cheek, so soon were they on the

1564. ground, as soon up, to answer with their bows, and to fight their way, if, by chance, they perceived we went about to take them; for there is nothing that they feared so much because of our swords and daggers. This conflict continued, and lasted from nine of the clock in the morning until the night departed them. And, if OTTIGNI had not bethought himself to cause his men to break the arrows which they found in the way, and so to deprive the savages of the means to begin again, without all doubt he should have had very much to do; for, by this means, they lacked arrows, and so were constrained to retire themselves. During the time of the conflict, they cried, and made signs, that they were the captain's and lieutenant's friends, and that they fought for none other cause but to be revenged on the soldiers, which were their mortal enemies. My lieutenant being come unto his boats, took a review of his company, and found two men wanting, which were killed, of whom the one was called JAMES SALE, and the other's name was MESUREUR. He found, moreover, twenty-two of them wounded, which, with much ado, he caused to be brought unto the boats. All the mill that he found among his company, came but to two men's burden, which he divided equally among them; for, as soon as the conflict began, every man was constrained to leave his sack to put his hand to his weapon.

In this, meanwhile, I remained at the fort, and caused every man diligently to travel, hoping that my lieutenant would bring us victuals; but, seeing the time consume away, I began to suspect the truth of that which fell out, whereof I was assured, immediately after, at their return. Seeing, therefore, mine

hope frustrated on that side, I made my prayer unto GOD, and 1564.
thanked him of his grace which he had shown unto my poor
soldiers which were escaped. Afterward, I thought upon new
means to obtain victuals, as well for our return into France, as
to drive out the time until our embarking. I was advertised,
by certain of our company, which usually went on hunting into
the woods and through the villages, that in the village *Saraurahi*,
situated on the other side of the river, and two leagues dis-
tant from the fort, and in the village *Emola*, there were fields
wherein the mill was very forward, and that there was, thereof,
in those parts, in great abundance. Wherefore, I caused my
boats to be made ready, and sent my serjeant thither, with
certain soldiers, which used such diligence, that we had good
store of mill. I sent, also, to the river, which the savages call
Iracana, named, by Captain RIBAULT, the river of *Somme*,
where Captain VASSEUR and my serjeant arrived, with two
boats, and their ordinary furniture, and found, there, a great as-
sembly of the lords of the country, among whom was *ATHORE*,
the son of *SATOURIOUA*, *APALOU*, and *TACADOCOROU*, which
were there assembled to make merry; because that, in this
place, are the fairest maids and women of the villages. Where-
upon, the boats were forthwith laden with mill, after they had
made our men as good cheer as they could devise. The queen
sent me two small mats, so artificially wrought, as it was impos-
sible to make better. Now, finding ourselves by this means
sufficiently furnished with victuals, we began, each of us in his
place, to travel, and use such diligence as the desire to see our
native country might move us; but, because two of our car-

1564. penters were slain by the Indians (as heretofore I mentioned), JOHN DE HAIS, master-carpenter, a man very worthy of his vocation, repaired unto me, and told me that, by reason or want of men, he was not able to make me up the ship against the time that he had promised me, which speech caused such a mutiny among the soldiers, that very hardly he escaped killing; howbeit, I appeased them as well as I could, and determined to work no more, from thenceforth, upon the ship, but to content to repair the brigantine which I had. So we began to beat down all the houses that were without the fort, and caused coal to be made of the timber thereof; likewise, the soldiers beat down the palisade which was toward the water-side, neither was I ever able to keep them from doing it. I had also determined to beat down the fort before my departure, and to set it on fire, for fear lest some new-come guest should have enjoyed and possessed it.

In the meanwhile, there was none of us to whom it was not an extreme grief to leave a country wherein we had endured so great travails and necessities, to discover that which we must forsake, through our own countrymen's default. For, if we had been succored in time and place, and, according to the promise that was made unto us, the war, which was between us and UTINA, had not fallen out; neither should we have had occasion to offend the Indians, which, with all the pains in the world, I entertained in good amity, as well with merchandise and apparel as with promise of greater matters; and, with whom I so behaved myself, that, although sometimes I was constrained to take victuals in some few villages, yet I lost not

1564.

the alliance of eight kings and lords, my neighbors, which continually succored and aided me with whatsoever they were able to afford. Yea, this was the principal scope of all my purposes, to win and entertain them, knowing how greatly their amity might advance our enterprise, and, principally, while I discovered the commodities of the country, and sought to strengthen myself therein. I leave it to your cogitation to think how near it went to our hearts to leave a place abounding in riches (as we were thoroughly informed thereof), in coming whereunto, and doing service unto our Prince, we left our own country, wives, children, parents, and friends, and passed the perils of the sea, and were therein arrived, as in a plentiful treasure of all our hearts desire. As each of us were much tormented in mind with these, or such like cogitations, the third of August, I descried four sails in the sea as I walked upon a little hill, whereof I was exceedingly well repaid. I sent, immediately, one of them which were with me, to advertise those of the fort, thereof, which were so glad of these news, that one would have thought them to be out of their wits, to see them laugh and leap for joy.

After these ships had cast anchor, we descried that they sent one of their boats to land, whereupon I caused one of mine to be armed, with diligence, to send to meet them, and to know who they were. In the meanwhile, fearing lest they were Spaniards, I set my soldiers in order, and in readiness, attending the return of Captain VASSEUR and my lieutenant, which were gone to meet them, which brought me word that they were Englishmen; and, in truth, they had, in their com-

1564. pany one, whose name was MARTINE ANTINAS, of *Dieppe*, which, at that time, was in their service, which, on the behalf of Master JOHN HAWKINS, their general, came to request me that I would suffer them to take fresh water, whereof they stood in great need, signifying unto me that they had been above fifteen days on the coast to get some. He brought unto me, from the general, two flagons of wine, and bread made of wheat, which greatly refreshed me, forasmuch as, for seven months' space, I never tasted a drop of wine; nevertheless, it was all divided among the greatest part of my soldiers. This MARTINE ANTINAS had guided the Englishmen unto our coast, wherewith he was acquainted; for, in the year 1562, he came thither with me, and, therefore, the general sent him to me. Therefore, after I had granted his request, he signified the same unto the general, which, the next day following, caused one of his small ships to enter into the river, and came to see me, in a great ship-boat, accompanied with gentlemen, honorably appareled, yet unarmed. He sent for great store of bread and wine, to distribute, thereof, to every one. On my part, I made him the best cheer I could possibly, and caused certain sheep and poultry to be killed, which, until this present time, I had carefully preserved, hoping to store the country withal; for, notwithstanding all the necessities and sickness that happened unto me. I would not suffer so much as one chicken to be killed, by which means, in a short time, I had gathered together above a hundred pullets. Now, three days passed, while the English general remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to see him, and asked me

whether he were my brother ; I told them he was so, and signified unto them that he was come to see me, and aid me with so great store of victuals, that, from thenceforth, I should have no need to take anything of them. The bruit, hereof, incontinently, was spread over all the country, in such sort, as ambassadors came unto me from all parts, which, on the behalf of the kings, their masters, desired to make alliance with me ; and even they, which before sought to make war against me, came to offer their friendship and service unto me, whereupon I received them, and gratified them with certain presents. The general immediately understood the desire and urgent occasion which I had to return into France, whereupon he offered to transport me and all my company home ; whereunto, notwithstanding, I would not agree, being in doubt upon what occasion he made so large an offer ; for I knew not how the case stood between the French and the English ; and, although he promised me, on his faith, to put me on land in France, before he would touch in England, yet I stood in doubt, lest he would attempt somewhat in Florida, in the name of his mistress ; wherefore I flatly refused his offer. Whereupon there arose a great mutiny among my soldiers, which said, that I sought to destroy them all, and that the brigantine, whereof I spake before, was not sufficient to transport them, considering the season of the year wherein we were. The bruit and mutiny increased more and more ; for, after that the general was returned to his ships, he told certain gentlemen and soldiers which went to see him, partly to make good cheer with him ; he declared, I say, unto them, that he greatly doubted that hardly we should be able to

1564.

1564. pass safely in those vessels which we had, and that, in case we should enterprise the same, we should, no doubt, be in great jeopardy; notwithstanding, if I were so contented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leave me a small ship to transport the rest. The soldiers were no sooner come home but they signified the offer unto their companions, which incontinently consented together, that, in case I would not accept the same, they would embark themselves with him, and forsake me, so that he would receive them, according to his promise. They, therefore, assembled themselves all together, and came to seek me in my chamber, and signified unto me their intention, whereunto I promised to answer within one hour after. In which, meanwhile, I gathered together the principal members of my company, which, after I had broken the matter with them, answered me, all with one voice, that I ought not to refuse this offer, nor condemn the occasion which presented itself; and that they could not think evil of it in France, if, being forsaken as we were, we aided ourselves with such means as God had sent us.

After sundry debates of this matter, in conclusion, I gave my advice: that we ought to deliver him the price of the ship, which he was to leave us; and that, for my part, I was content to give him the best of my stuff, and the silver which I had gathered in the country. Whereupon, notwithstanding it was determined that I should keep the silver, for fear lest the Queen of England, seeing the same, should the rather be encouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired; that it was far better to carry it into France, to give encouragement unto our

princes not to leave off an enterprise of so great importance for 1564.
our commonwealth; and that, seeing we were resolved to depart, it was far better to give him our artillery—which, otherwise, we should be constrained to leave behind us, or to hide it in the ground, by reason of the weakness of our men—being not able to embark the same. This point being thus concluded, and resolved on, I went, myself, unto the English general, accompanied with my lieutenant, and Captain VERDIER, and TRENCHANT, the pilot, and my serjeant—all men of experience in such affairs, and knowing sufficiently how to drive such a bargain. We, therefore, took a view of the ship which the general would sell, whom we drew to such reason, that he was content to stand to mine own men's judgment, who esteemed it to be worth seven hundred crowns; whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore, I delivered him, in earnest of the sum, two *bastards*, two *mynions*, one thousand of iron, and one thousand of powder. This bargain thus made, he considered the necessity wherein we were—having for all our sustenance but mill and water: whereupon, being moved with pity, he offered to relieve me with twenty barrels of meal, six pipes of beans, one hogshead of salt, and a hundred of wax, to make candles. Moreover, forasmuch as he saw my soldiers go barefoot, he offered me, besides, fifty pairs of shoes, which I accepted, and agreed of a price with him, and gave him a bill of mine hand for the same; for which, until this present, I am indebted to him. He did more than this; for, particularly, he bestowed upon myself a great jar of oil, a jar of vinegar, a barrel of olives, and a great quantity of rice, and a barrel of

1564. white biscuit; besides, he gave divers presents to the principal officers of my company, according to their qualities, so that, I may say, we received as many courtesies of the general as it was possible to receive of any man living; wherein, doubtless, he hath won the reputation of a good and charitable man, deserving to be esteemed as much, of us all, as if he had saved all our lives. Incontinent after his departure, I spared no pains to hasten my men to make biscuits of their meal which he had left me, and to hoop my cask, to take in water needful for the voyage. A man may well think what diligence we used, in respect of the great desire we had to depart, wherein we continued so well, that, the fifteenth day of August, the biscuit, the greatest part of our water, and all the soldiers' stuff, was brought aboard, so that, from that day forward, we did nothing but stay for good winds to drive us into France, which had freed us from an infinite number of mischiefs, which, afterward, we suffered, if they had come as we desired; but it was not GOD's good pleasure, as shall appear hereafter.

Being thus in a readiness to set sail, we bethought ourselves that it would do well to bring certain men and women of the country into France, to the end that, if this voyage should be taken in hand again, they might declare unto their kings the greatness of our king, the excellency of our princes, the goodness of our country, and the manner of living of the Frenchmen; and that they might also learn our language, to serve our turns thereby, in time to come; wherein I took so good order, that I found means to bring away with me the goodliest persons of all the country, if our intentions had succeeded, as I hoped

they would have done. In the mean season, the kings, my neighbors, came often to see and visit me, which, after they understood that I would retire into France, demanded of me whether I meant to return again, or no, and whether it should be in short time. I signified unto them that, within ten moons (so they call their months), I would visit them again, with such force, that I would be able to make them conquerors over all their enemies. They prayed me that I would leave them my house, that I would forbid my soldiers to beat down the fort and their lodgings, and that I would leave them a boat to aid them, withal, in their war against their enemies; which I made as though I would grant unto them, to the end, I might always remain their friend until my last departure. 1564.

CHAPTER XVI.

THIRD EXPEDITION, COMMANDED BY M. RIBAUT.

1564.



S I was thus occupied in these conferences, the wind and the tide served well to set sail—which was the eighth and twentieth of August; at which instant, Captain VASSEUR, which commanded in one of my ships, and Captain VERDIER, which was chief in the other—now ready to go forth, began to descry certain sails at sea, whereof they advertised me, with diligence; whereupon I appointed to arm forth a boat, in good order, to go to descry and know what they were. I sent, also, to the sentinels—which I caused to be kept on a little nap—to cause certain men to climb up to the top of the highest trees, the better to discover them. They descried the great boat of the ships, which, as yet, they could not perfectly discern—which, as far as they could judge, seemed to chase my boat, which, by this time, was passed the bar of the river, so that we could not possibly judge whether they were enemies, which would have carried her away with them; for it was too great a ken to

judge the truth, thereof. Upon this doubt, I put my men in order, and in such array as though they had been enemies ; and, indeed, I had great occasion to mistrust the same, for my boat came unto their ship, about two of the clock in the afternoon, and sent me no news all that day long, to put me out of doubt who they should be. The next day, in the morning, about eight or nine of the clock, I saw seven boats (among which mine own was one), full of soldiers, enter into the river, having every man his harquebuse in his hand, and morion on his head, which marched all in battle, along the cliffs, where my sentinels were, to whom they would make no kind of answer, notwithstanding all the demands that were made unto them ; insomuch as one of my soldiers was constrained to bestow a shot at them, without doing hurt, nevertheless, to any of them, by reason of the distance between him and the boats. The report, hereof, being made unto me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend ourselves, if they had been enemies, as, in truth, we thought them to have been ; likewise, I caused the two small field-pieces, which I had left me, to be trimmed, in such sort, as if approaching to the fort, that if they had not cried out that it was Captain RIBAUT, I had not failed to have discharged the same upon them.

Afterward, I understood that the cause why they entered in this manner proceeded of the false reports which had been made unto my lord admiral by those which were returned into France in the first ships ; for they had put in his head that I had played the lord and the king, and that I would hardly suffer that any other, save myself, should enter in thither to govern

1564. there. Thus, we see how the good name of the most honest is, oftentimes, assailed by such as, having no means to win themselves credit by virtuous and laudable endeavors, think, by debasing of other men's virtues, to augment the feeble force of their faint courage, which, nevertheless, is one of the most notable dangers which may happen in a commonwealth, and chiefly among men of war which are placed in government; for it is very hard, yea, utterly impossible that, in governing of a company of men gathered out of divers places and sundry nations, and, namely, such as we know them to be in our wars—it is, I say, impossible but there will be always some of evil conditions, and hard to be ruled, which easily conceived an hatred against him, which, by admonitions and light corrections, endeavoreth to reduce them to the discipline of war; for they seek nothing else but for a small occasion, grounded upon a light pretext, to sound into the ears of great lords that which, mischievously, they have contrived against those whose execution of justice is odious unto them. And, albeit, I will not place myself in the rank of great and renowned captains, such as lived in times passed, yet, we may judge by their examples how hurtful back-biters have been unto commonwealths. I will only take ALCIBIADES for witness, in the Commonwealth of the *Athenians*, which, by this means, was cast into banishment, whereupon his citizens felt the smart of an infinite number of mischiefs, insomuch, as, in the end, they were constrained to call him home again, and acknowledge, at length, the fault they had committed in forgetting his good services, and rather believing a false report than having had regard unto so

many notable exploits which, in former time, he had achieved. 1564.
But that I lose not myself in digressing so far in this, my justification, I will return again to my first course.

Being, therefore, advertised that it was Captain RIBAUT, I went forth of the fort to meet him; and, to do him all the honor I could by any means, I caused him to be welcomed with the artillery, and a gentle volley of my shot, whereunto he answered with his. Afterward, being come on shore, and received honorably with joy, I brought him to my lodging, rejoicing not a little, because that, in this company, I knew a good number of my friends, which I entreated, in the best sort that I was able, with such victuals as I could get in the country, and that small store which I had left me, with that which I had of the English general. Howbeit, I marvelled not a little, when, as all of them, with one voice, began to utter unto me, these, or the like speeches: "My Captain, we praise GOD that we have found you alive; and chiefly, because we know that the reports which have been made of you are false." These speeches moved me, in such sort, that I would needs, out of hand, know more, mistrusting some evil. Wherefore, having accosted Captain JOHN RIBAUT, and, going both of us aside out of the fort, he signified unto me the charge which he had, praying me not to return into France, but to stay with him, myself and my company, and assured me that he would make it well thought of at home. Whereupon I replied, that, out of this place, I would do him all service; that, for the present, I could not, nor ought not accept this offer, since he was come for no other intent than to occupy the place which I before possessed, and

1564. that I could have no credit to be there commanded; that my friends would never like of it, and that he would hardly give me that counsel, if, in good earnest, I should demand his advice therein. He made me answer, that he would not command me that we should be companions, and that he would build another fortress, and that he would leave mine own unto me. This, notwithstanding, I fully advertised him, that I could not receive a greater comfort than the news which he brought me to return into France; and, further, that, though I should stay there, yet, it must needs be, that one of us both was to command, with the title of the King's lieutenant; that this could not well agree together; that I had rather have it cast in my teeth, to be the poorest beggar in the world, than to be commanded in that place where I had endured so much to inhabit and plant there, if it were not by some great lord or king of the order; and that, in these respects, I prayed him, very heartily, to deliver me the letters which my Lord Admiral had written unto me, which he performed.

The contents of these letters were these :

“Captain LAUDONNIÈRE, because some of them which are returned from Florida speak indifferently of the country, the King desireth your presence, to the end that, according to your trial, he may resolve to bestow great cost thereon, or wholly to leave it; and, therefore, I send Captain JOHN RIBAUT to be governor there, to whom you shall deliver whatsoever you have in charge, and inform him of all things you have discovered.”

And, in a postscript of the letter, was thus written :

“Think not that, whereas I send for you, it is for any evil opinion, or mistrust that I have for you, but that it is for your good, and for your credit; and assure yourself that, during my life, you shall find me your good master,

“CHASTILLON.”

Now, after I had long discoursed with Captain RIBAUT, 1564.
Captain LA GRANGE accosted me, and told me of an infinite number of false reports which had been made of me, to my great hindrance; and, among other things, he informed me that my Lord Admiral took it very evil that I had carried a woman with me; likewise, that somebody had told him that I went about to counterfeit the King, and to play the tyrant; that I was too cruel unto the men that went with me; that I thought to be advanced by other means than by my Lord Admiral, and that I had written to many lords of the Court, which I ought not to have done. Whereunto I answered, that the woman was a poor chambermaid, which I had taken up in an inn, to oversee my household business, to look to an infinite sort of divers beasts—as sheep and poultry, which I carried over with me to store the country withal; that it was not meet to put a man to attend this business; likewise, considering the length of the time that I was to abide there, methought it should not offend anybody to take a woman with me, as well to help my soldiers in their sickness as in mine own, whereinto I fell afterward. And how necessary her service was for us, each one, at that time, might easily perceive. That all my men thought so well of her, that, at one instant, there were six or seven which did demand her of me in marriage, as, in very deed, one of them had her, after our return. Touching that which was said, that I played the king, these reports were made because I would not bear with anything which was against the duty of my charge, and the King's service. Moreover, that, in such enterprises, it is necessary for a governor to make himself

1564. known and obeyed, for fear lest everybody would become a master, perceiving themselves far from greater forces; and that, if the tale-tellers called this rigor, it rather proceeded of their disobedience, than of my nature, less subject to cruelty than they were to rebellion. For the two last points, that I had not written to any of the lords of the court but by the advice and commandment of my Lord Admiral, which willed me, at my departure, to send part of such things as I should find in the country unto the lords of the council, to the end that, being moved by this means, they might deal with the Queen Mother for the continuance of this enterprise; that, having been so small time in the country, continually hindered with building of fortresses, and unloading of my ships, I was not able to come by any new or rare things to send them; whereupon I thought it best to content them, in the meanwhile, with letters, until such time as I might have longer space to search out the country, and might recover something to send them; the distribution of which letters, I meant not otherwise but to refer to my Lord Admiral's good pleasure; and that, if the bearer had forgot himself so far as that he had broken the covering of the letters, and presented them himself for hope of gain, it was not my commandment. And that I never honored nobleman so much, nor did to any man more willing and faithful service than to my Lord Admiral, nor ever sought advancement but by his means. You see how things passed for this day.

The next day, the Indians came in from all parts, to know what people these were; to whom I signified that this was he, which, in the year 1562, arrived in this country, and erected

the pillar which stood at the entry of the river. Some of them 1564. knew him; for, in truth, he was easy to be known, by reason of the great beard which he wore. He received many presents of them which were of the villages near adjoining, among whom there were some that he had not yet forgotten. The Kings HOMOLOA, SARAUAHI, ALIMACANI, MALICA, and CASTI, came to visit him, and welcome him with divers gifts, according to their manner. I advertised them that he was sent thither by the King of France, to remain there in my room, and that I was sent for. Then they demanded, and prayed him, if it might stand with his good pleasure, to cause the merchandise that he had brought with him to be delivered them; and that, in a few days, they would bring him to the mountains of Apalatcy, whither they had promised to conduct me; and that, in case they performed not their promise, that they were content to be cut in pieces. In those mountains, as they said, is found red copper, which they call, in their language, *Sieroa Pira*, which is as much as to say, red metal, whereof I had a piece, which, at the very instant, I showed to Captain RIBAUT, which caused his gold finer to make an essay thereof, which reported unto him that it was perfect gold. About the time of these conferences, communings, and goings of the kings of the country, being weakened with my former travel, and fallen into a melancholy upon the false reports that had been made of me, I fell into a great continual fever, which held me eight or nine days, during which time Captain RIBAUT caused his victuals to be brought on shore, and bestowed the most part thereof in the house which my lieutenant had built, about two hundred paces

1564. without the fort; which he did, to the end they might be the better defended from the weather, and, likewise, to the intent that the meal might be nearer to the bakehouse, which I had built of purpose in that place, the better to avoid the danger of the fire, as I said before. But, lo! how oftentimes misfortune doth search and pursue us, even when we think to be at rest! Lo! see what happened after that Capt. RIBAUT had brought up three of his small ships into the river, which was the 4th of September. Six great Spanish ships arrived in the road, where four of our greatest ships remained, which cast anchor, assuring our men of good amity. They asked how the chief captains of the enterprise did, and called them all by their names and surnames. I report me to you, if it could be otherwise; but these men, before they went out of Spain, must needs be informed of the enterprise, and of those that were to execute the same. About the break of day, they began to make toward our men; but our men, which trusted them never a deal, had hoisted their sails by night, being ready to cut the strings that tied them; wherefore, perceiving that this making toward our men of the Spaniards was not to do them any pleasure, and, knowing well that their furniture was too small to make head against them, because that the most part of their men were on shore, they cut their cables, left their anchors, and set sail. The Spaniards, seeing themselves discovered, lent them certain volleys of their great ordnance, made sail after them, and chased them all day long; but our men got way of them still toward the sea. And the Spaniards, seeing they could not reach them, by reason that the French ships were better of sail than theirs,

and also, because they would not leave the coast, turned back, and went on shore, in the river *Seloy*, which we call the *River of Dolphins*, eight or ten leagues distant from the place where we were. Our men, therefore, finding themselves better of sail than they, followed them, to descry what they did ; which, after they had done, they returned unto the *River of May*, where, Captain RIBAULT having descried them, embarked himself in a great boat, to know what news they had. Being at the entrance of the river, he met with the boat of Captain CONSEL's ship, wherein there was a good number of men, which made relation unto him of all the Spaniards' doings ; and how the great ship, named *Trinity*, had kept the sea, and that she was not returned with them. They told him, moreover, that they had seen three Spanish ships enter into the *River of Dolphins*, and the other three remained in the road ; farther, that they had put their soldiers, their victuals, and munitions on land.

After he understood these news, he returned to the fortress, and came to my chamber, where I was sick ; and there, in the presence of Captains LA GRANGE, ST. MARIE, OTTIGNI, VISTY, YONOUILLE, and other gentlemen, he propounded that it was necessary, for the King's service, to embark himself, with all his forces, and, with the three ships that were in the road, to seek the Spanish fleet ; whereupon, he asked our advice. I first replied, and showed unto him the consequence of such an enterprise, advertising him, among other things, of the perilous flaws of wind that rise on this coast ; and that, if it chanced that he were driven from the shore, it would be very hard for him to recover it again, and that, in the meanwhile, they

1564.

which should stay in the fort should be in fear and danger. The Captains ST. MARIE and LA GRANGE declared unto him, further, that they thought it not good to put any such enterprise in execution; that it was far better to keep the land, and do their best endeavor to fortify themselves; and that, after the *Trinity* (which was the principal ship) were returned, there would be much more likelihood to enterprise this voyage. This, notwithstanding, he resolved to undertake it; and that which more is, after he understood, by King EMOLA, one of our neighbors, which arrived, upon the handling of these matters, that the Spaniards, in great numbers, were gone on shore, which had taken possession of the houses of *Seloy*, in the most part, whereof, they had placed their negroes, which they had brought to labor, and also lodged themselves, and had cast divers trenches about them. Thus for the considerations which he had—and, doubting (as he might well do) that the Spaniards would encamp themselves there, to molest us, and, in the end, to chase us out of the country, he resolved, and continued in his embarkment, caused a proclamation to be made, that all soldiers that were under his charge should, presently, with their weapons, embark them, and that his two ensigns should march; which was put in execution.

He came into my chamber, and prayed me to lend him my lieutenant, mine ensign, and my serjeant, and to let all the good soldiers which I had go with him—which I denied him; because, myself being sick, there was no man to stay in the fort. Thereupon, he answered me, that I needed not to doubt at all, and that he would return the morrow after; that, in the mean-

while, M. DE LYS should stay behind, to look to all things. 1564.
 Then I showed unto him that he was chief in this country, and that I, for my part, had no further authority; that, therefore, he would take good advisement what he did, for fear lest some inconvenience might ensue. Then he told me that he could do no less than to continue this enterprise; and that in the letter which he had received from my Lord Admiral, there was a postscript, which he showed me, written in these words:

“Captain JOHN RIBAUT, as I was enclosing of this letter, I received a certain advice, that Don PEDRO MELENDES departeth from Spain, to go to the coast of *Nevu France*. See you that you suffer him not to encroach upon you, no more than he would that you should encroach upon him.”

“You see,” quoth he, “the charge that I have; and I leave it unto yourself to judge if you could do any less in this case, considering the certain advertisement that we have, that they are already on land, and will invade us.”

This stopped my mouth. Thus, therefore, confirmed, or rather, obstinate in this enterprise, and having regard rather unto his particular opinion than unto the advertisements which I had given him, and the inconveniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked himself the 8th of September, and took mine ensign and thirty-eight of my men away with him. I report me to those that know what wars mean, if, when an ensign marcheth, any soldier that hath any courage in him will stay behind to forsake his ensign. Thus no man of commandment staid behind with me, for each one followed him as chief, in whose name, straight after his arrival, all cries and proclamations were made. Captain LA GRANGE, which

1564. liked not very well of this enterprise, was, unto the 10th of the month, with me, and would not have gone aboard if it had not been for the instant requests Captain RIBAUT had made unto him, which staid two days in the road attending, until LA GRANGE was come unto him, who, being come aboard, they set sail altogether, and, from that time forward, I never saw them more. The very day that he departed, which was the 10th of September, there rose so great a tempest, accompanied with such storms, that, the Indians themselves assured me, it was the worst weather that ever was seen on the coast; whereupon, two or three days after, fearing lest our ships might be in some distress, I sent for M. DE LYS unto me, to take order to assemble the rest of our people, to declare unto them what need we had to fortify ourselves, which was done accordingly; and then I gave them to understand the necessity and inconveniences whereinto we were like to fall, as well by the absence of our ships as by the nearness of the Spaniards, at whose hands we could look for no less than an open and sufficient proclaimed war, seeing they had taken land, and fortified themselves so near unto us; and, if any misfortune were fallen unto our men which were at sea, we ought to make a full account with ourselves that we were to endure many great miseries, being in so small number, and so many ways afflicted as we were. Thus every one promised me to take pains, and, therefore, considering that their proportion of victuals was small, and that, so continuing, they would not be able to do any great work, I augmented their allowance; although that, after the arrival of Captain RIBAUT, my portion of victuals was allotted unto me as unto a

common soldier, neither was I able to give so much as part of 1564.
a bottle of wine to any man which deserved it; for I was so far
from having means to do so, that the captain, himself, took two
of my boats wherein the rest of the meal was, which was left
me of the biscuits which I caused to be made to return into
France, so that if I should say that I received those favors at
the hands of the Englishmen, being strangers unto me, I should
say but a truth. We began, therefore, to fortify ourselves,
and to repair that which was broken down, principally toward
the water-side, where I caused three-score foot of trees to be
planted, to repair the palisade with the planks which I caused
to be taken off the ship which I had builded. Nevertheless,
notwithstanding all our diligence and travail, we were never
able fully to repair it, by reason of the storms, which commonly
did us so great annoy, that we could not finish our enclosure.
Perceiving ourselves in such extremity, I took muster of the
men which Captain RIBAUT had left me, to see if there were
any that wanted weapons; I found nine or ten of them, whereof
not past two or three had ever drawn sword out of a scabbard,
as I think. Let them which have been bold to say that I had
men enough left me so that I had means to defend myself, give
ear a little now unto me, and, if they have eyes in their heads,
let them see what men I had. Of the nine, there were four
but young striplings, which served Captain RIBAUT, and kept
his dogs; the fifth was a cook; among those that were without
the fort, and which were of the aforesaid company of Captain
RIBAUT, there was a carpenter, of three-score years old; one,
a beer-brewer, one old cross-bow maker, two shoemakers, and

1564. four or five men that had their wives, a player on the virginals, two servants of M. DE LYS, one of M. DE BEAUHAIRE, one of M. DE LA GRANGE, and about four-score and five or six in all, counting as well lackeys as women and children. Behold the goodly troop, so sufficient to defend themselves, and so courageous as they have esteemed them to be; and, for my part, I leave it to others' consideration to imagine whether Captain RIBAUT would have left them with me, to have borrowed my men, if they had been such. Those that were left me of mine own company were about sixteen or seventeen that could bear arms, and all of them poor and lean; the rest were sick and maimed in the conflict which my lieutenant had with UTINA. This view being thus taken, we set our watches, whereof we made two sentinels, that the soldiers might have one night free. Then we bethought ourselves of those which might be most sufficient, among whom we chose two, one of whom was named M. ST. CLER, and the other, M. DE LA VIGNE, to whom we delivered candles and lanterns, to go round about the fort to view the watch, because of the foul and foggy weather. I delivered them, also, a sand-glass, or clock, that the sentinels might not be troubled more one than another. In the meanwhile, I ceased not, for all the foul weather, nor my sickness which I had, to oversee the *corps de garde*. The night between the 19th and 20th of September, LA VIGNE kept watch with his company, wherein he used all endeavor, although it rained without ceasing. When the day was, therefore, come, and that he saw that it still rained worse than it did before, he pitied the sentinals so moiled and wet, and, thinking the Spaniards would

not have come in such a strange time, he let them depart, and, 1564.
to say the truth, he went himself unto his lodging. In the
meanwhile, one which had something to do without the fort,
and my trumpeter, which went up unto the rampart, perceived
a troop of Spaniards which came down from a little *knappe*,
where, incontinently, they began to cry alarm, and the trum-
peter also, which, as soon as ever I understood, forthwith I
issued out, with my target and sword in my hand, and got me
into the midst of the court, where I began to cry upon my
soldiers. Some of them, which were of the forward sort, went
toward the breach, which was on the south side, and where the
munitions of the artillery lay, where they were repulsed and
slain. By the self-same place two ensigns entered, which im-
mediately were planted on the walls. Two other ensigns also
entered on the other side, towards the west, where there was
another breach, and those which were lodged in this quarter,
and which showed themselves, were likewise defeated.

CHAPTER XVII.

1564.



S I went to succor them which were defending the breach on the south-west side, I encountered, by chance, a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulsed our men, and were now entered, which drove me back unto the court of the fort. Being there, I espied with them, one called FRANCIS JEAN, which was one of the mariners which stole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spaniards thither. As soon as he saw me, he began to say: "This is the captain." This troop was led by a captain, whose name, as I think, was Don PEDRO MELENDES. These made certain pushes at me with their pikes, which lighted on my target. But, perceiving that I was not able to withstand so great a company, and that the court was already won, and their ensigns planted on the ramparts, and that I had never a man about me, saving one, only, whose name was BARTHOLOMEW, I entered into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and, had it not been for a tent that was set up, I had been taken; but, the Spaniards which followed me were occupied in cutting off the cords of

the tent ; and, in the meanwhile, I saved myself by the breach, 1564.
which was on the west side, near unto my lieutenant's lodging
and gateway, into the woods, where I found certain of my men,
which were escaped, of which number there were three or four
which were sore hurt.

Then spake I thus unto them : "Sirs, since it hath pleased
GOD that this mischance is happened unto us, we must needs
take the pains to get over the marshes, into the ships, which are
at the mouth of the river."

Some would needs go to a little village, which was in the
woods, the rest followed me through the reeds, in the water,
where, being able to go no farther, by reason of my sickness
which I had, I sent two of my men, which were with me,
which could swim well, unto the ships, to advertise them of
that which had happened, and to send them word to come and
help me. They were not able, that day, to get unto the ships,
to certify them, thereof, so I was constrained to stand in the
water up to the shoulders, all that night long, with one of my
men, which would never forsake me. The next day morning,
being scarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betook me
to my prayers, with the soldier that was with me, whose name
was JOHN DU CHEMIN ; for I felt myself so feeble, that I was
afraid I should die suddenly ; and, in truth, if he had not
embraced me in both his arms, and so held me up, it had not
been possible to save me.

After we had made an end of our prayers, I heard a voice,
which, in my judgment, was one of theirs which I had sent,
which were over against the ships, and called for the ship's

1564. boat, which was so in need ; and, because those of the ships had understanding of the taking of the fort, by one called JOHN DE HAIS, master-carpenter, which fled unto them in a shallop, they had set sail to run along the coast, to see if they might save any, wherein, doubtless, they did very well their endeavor. They went straight to the place where the two men were, which I had sent, and which called them. As soon as they had received them in, and understood where I was, they came, and found me in a pitiful condition. Five or six of them took me, and carried me into the shallop ; some of the mariners took their clothes from their backs, to lend them me, and would have carried me presently to their ships, to give me a little *aqua vitæ*. Howbeit, I would not go thither, until I had first gone with the boat along the reeds, to seek out the poor souls which were scattered abroad, where we gathered up eighteen or twenty of them. The last that I took in was the nephew of the treasurer, LE BEAU. After we were all come to the ships, I comforted them as well as I could, and sent back the boat again with speed, to see if they could find yet any more. Upon her return, the mariners told me how that Captain JAMES RIBAUT, which was in his ship, about two muskets-shot distant from the fort, had parleyed with the Spaniards, and that FRANCIS JEAN came unto his ship, where he stayed a long space, whereat they greatly marvelled, considering he was the cause of this enterprise, how he would let him escape. After I was come into the ship, called *The Greyhound*, Captain JAMES RIBAUT and Captain VALUST came to see me, and there we concluded to return into France. Now, forasmuch as I found the ship

unfurnished of captain, pilot, master, and master's-mate, I gave 1564. advice to chose out one of the most able men among all the mariners, and that by their own voices. I took also five men out of another small ship which we had sunk, because it wanted ballast, and could not be saved. Thus I increased the furniture of the ship wherein I was myself embarked, and made one, which had been master's-mate in the foresaid small ship, master of mine. And, because I lacked a pilot, I prayed JAMES RIBAUT that he would grant me one of the four men that he had in his ship, which I should name unto him, to serve me for a pilot. He promised to give me them, which, nevertheless, he did not at the instant when we were ready to depart, notwithstanding all the speech I used to him, in declaring that it was for the King's service. I was constrained to leave the ship behind me, which I had bought of the English captain, because I wanted men to bring her away; for Captain JAMES RIBAUT had taken away her furniture; I took away her ordnance only, which was all dismounted, whereof I gave nine pieces to JAMES RIBAUT to carry into France, the other five I put into my ship.

The 25th of September, we set sail to return into France, and Captain JAMES RIBAUT and I kept company all that day and the next, until three or four of the clock in the afternoon; but, because his ship was better at bowline than ours, he kept him to the wind, and left us the same day. Thus we continued our voyage, wherein we had marvellous flaws of wind; and, about the 28th of October, in the morning, at the break of day, we descried the *Isle of Flores*, and one of the *Azores*, where, immediately upon our approaching to the land, we had a mighty

1564. gust of wind, which came from the north-east, which caused us to bear against it four days; afterwards, the wind came south and south-east, and was always variable. In all the time of our passage, we had none other food saving biscuit and water. About the 10th or 11th of November, after we had sailed a long time, and, supposing we were not far from land, I caused my men to sound, where they found three-score and fifteen fathoms of water, whereat we all rejoiced, and praised God, because we had sailed so prosperously. Immediately after, I caused them to set sail again, and so continued our way; but, forasmuch as we had borne too much toward the north-east, we entered into Saint George's Channel, a place much feared of by all sailors, and where so many ships are cast away; but it was a fair gift of God that we entered in it when the weather was clear. We sailed all the night, supposing we had been shot into the narrow sea between England and France, and, by the next day, to reach *Dieppe*, but we were deceived of our longing; for, about two or three of the clock after midnight, as I walked upon the hatches, I descried land round about me, whereat we were astonished. Immediately I caused them to strike sail, and sound; we found we had not under us past eight fathoms of water, whereupon I commanded them to stay till break of day, which being come, and seeing, my mariners, told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approach unto it. Being near thereunto, I made them cast anchor, and sent the boat on shore, to understand in what country we were. Word was brought that we were in Wales, a province of England. I went incontinently on land, where, after I had taken the air,

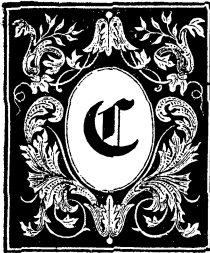
a sickness took me, whereof I thought I should have died. In 1564.
 the meanwhile, I caused the ship to be brought into the bay of
 a small town, called *Swansea*, where I found merchants of *S.*
Malo, which lent me money, wherewith I made certain apparel
 for myself, and part for my company that was with me; and,
 because there were no victuals in the ship, I bought two *wren*,
 and salted them, and a tun of beer, which I delivered into his
 hands which had charge of the ship, praying him to carry it into
 France, which he promised me to do. For mine own part, I
 purposed, with my men, to pass by land; and, after I had taken
 leave of my mariners, I departed from *Swansea*, and came, that
 night, with my company, to a place called *Morgan*, where the
 lord of the place, understanding what I was, staid me with him
 for the space of six or seven days; and, at my departure, moved
 with pity to see me go on foot, especially being so weak as I
 was, gave me a little hackney.

Thus I passed on my journey—first to *Bristol*, and then to
London, where I went to do my duty to M. DE FOIX, which,
 for the present, was the King's ambassador, and helped me with
 money in my necessity. From thence I passed to *Calais*, after-
 ward to *Paris*, where I was informed that the King was gone
 to *Moulins*, to sojourn there; incontinently, and with all the
 haste I could possibly make, I got me thither, with part of my
 company. Thus, briefly, you see the discourse of all that hap-
 pened in New France, since the time it pleased the King's
 Majesty to send his subjects thither to discover those parts.
 The indifferent and unpassionate readers may easily weigh the
 truth of my doings, and be upright judges of the endeavor which

1564. I there used. For mine own part, I will not accuse, nor excuse any; it sufficeth me to have followed the truth of the history, whereof many are able to bear witness, which were there present. I will plainly say one thing—that the long delay that Captain JOHN RIBAUT used in his embarking, and the fifteen days that he spent in roving along the coast of Florida before he came to our fort (*Caroline*), were the cause of the loss we sustained; for he discovered the coast on the 14th of August, and spent the time in going from river to river, which had been sufficient for him to have discharged his ships in, and for me to have embarked myself to have returned into France. I note well that all that he did was upon a good intent; yet, in mine opinion, he should have had more regard unto his charge than to the devices of his own brain, which, sometimes, he printed in his head so deeply, that it was very hard to put them out, which also turned to his utter undoing; for he was no sooner departed from us but a tempest took him, which, in fine, wrecked him upon the coast, where all his ships were cast away; and he, with much ado, escaped drowning, to fall into their hands, which cruelly massacred him and all his company.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FOURTH EXPEDITION TO FLORIDA IN 1567, COMMANDED
BY THE CHEVALIER DE GOURGUES.



Chevalier de Gourgues, a gentleman born in the country, near unto *Bordeaux*, incited with a desire of revenge to repair the honor of his nation, borrowed of his friends, and sold part of his own goods, to set forth, and furnish three ships, of indifferent burthen, with all things necessary—having in them an hundred and fifty soldiers, and four-score chosen mariners, under Captain CAZENOVE, his lieutenant, and FRANCIS BOURDELOIS, master over the mariners. He set forth on the 22 of August, 1567, and, having endured contrary winds and storms for a season, he at length arrived, and went on shore in the *Isle of Cuba*. From thence he passed to the *Cape of St. Anthony*, at the end of the *Isle of Cuba*, about two hundred leagues distant from Florida, where the captain disclosed unto them his intention, which hitherto he had concealed from them, praying and exhorting them not to leave him, being so near the enemy, so well furnished, and in such a cause; which they all

1567. sware unto him, and that with such courage, that they would not stay the full moon to pass the channel of Bahama, but speedily discovered Florida, where the Spaniards saluted him with two cannon-shot from their fort, supposing that they had been of their nation; and GOURGUES saluted them again, to entertain them in this error, that he might surprise them at more advantage, yet sailing by them, and making as though he went to some other place, until he had sailed out of sight of the place; so that, about evening, he landed fifteen leagues from the fort, at the mouth of the river *Tacatacouru*, which the Frenchmen called *Seine*, because they thought it to be like the *Seine*, in France. Afterward, perceiving the shore to be covered with savages, with their bows and arrows (besides the sign of peace and amity which he made them from his ships), he sent his trumpeter to assure them that they were come thither for none other end but to renew the amity and ancient league of the French with them. The trumpeter did his message so well (by reason he had been there before, under Laudonnière), that he brought back from King SATOURIOUA (the greatest of all the other kings) a kid, and other meat, to refresh us, besides the offer of his friendship and amity. Afterward, they retired, dancing, in sign of joy, to advertise all the kings (SATOURIOUA's kinsmen) to repair thither the next day, to make a league of amity with the Frenchmen. Whereupon, in the meanwhile, our general went about to sound the channel of the river, to bring in his ships, and the better to traffic and deal with the savages, of whom the chiefs, the next day, in the morning, presented themselves—namely, the great King SATOURIOUA,

1567.

TECATACOUROU, HALMACANIR, ATHORE, HARPAHA, HELMA-CAPE, HÉLICOPILE, MOLLOUA, and others, his kinsmen and allies, with their accustomed weapons. Then sent they to entreat the French general to come on shore, which he caused his men to do, with their swords and harquebuses, which he made them leave behind them, in token of mutual assurance, leaving his men but their swords only, after that the savages, complaining thereof, had left, and likewise sent away their weapons at the request of GOURGUES. This done, SATOURIOUA, going to meet him, caused him to sit on his right hand, in a seat of wood of *lentisque*, covered with moss, made of purpose like unto his own. Then two of the eldest of the company pulled up the brambles and other weeds which were before them, and, after they had made the place very clean, they all sat round about them on the ground. Afterward, GOURGUES, being about to speak, SATOURIOUA prevented him, declaring at large, unto him, the incredible wrongs and continual outrages that all the savages, their wives, and children had received of the Spaniards since their coming into the country, and massacring of the Frenchmen, with their continual desire, if we would assist them, thoroughly to revenge so shameful a treason, as well as their own particular griefs, for the firm good will they always had borne unto the Frenchmen.

Whereupon GOURGUES, giving them his faith, and making a league between them and him with an oath, gave them certain presents of daggers, knives, looking-glasses, hatchets, rings, bells, and such other things, trifles unto us, but precious unto these kings; which, moreover, seeing his great liberality,

1567. demanded, each one, a shirt of him, to wear only on their festival days, and to be buried in at their death. Which things, after that they had received, and SATOURIOUA had given in recompense to Captain GOURGUES two chains of silver grains which hung about his neck, and each of the kings certain deer-skins, dressed after their manner, they retired themselves, dancing and very jocund, with promise to keep all things secret, and to bring unto the said place good companies of their subjects, all well armed, to be avenged thoroughly on the Spaniards. In the meanwhile, GOURGUES very narrowly examined PETER DE BRÉBORN, in *Newhaven*, which, being but a young stripling, escaped out of the fort into the woods, while the Spaniards murdered the rest of the French, and was, afterwards, brought up with SATOURIOUA, which, at that time, bestowed him on our general, whose advice stood him in great stead; whereupon he sent to discover the fort, and the estate of the enemies, by certain of his men, being guided by OLOTACARA (SATOURIOUA's nephew), which he had given him for this purpose, and for assurance of ESTAMPES, a gentleman of *Cominges*, and others, which he sent to descry the state of the enemies. Moreover, he gave him a son of his, stark naked, as all of them are, and his wife, which he loved best of all the rest, of eighteen years old, apparaled with the moss of trees, which, for three days' space, were in the ships, until our men returned from descrying the state of the enemy, and the kings had furnished their preparation at their rendezvous.

Their marching being concluded, and the savages' rendezvous being appointed them beyond the river *Salinacani* (of our men

called *Somme*), they all drank, with great solemnity, their drink, 1567.
called *cassine*, made of the juice of certain herbs (as they are wont to do when they go to any place of danger), which hath such force, that it taketh from them hunger and thirst for twenty-four hours, and GOURGUES was fain, as though he drank, thereof, for company. Afterward, they lifted up their hands, and sware all, that they would never forsake him; OLOTOCARA followed him, with pike in hand. Being all met at the river *Sarauabi* (not without great trouble, by reason of the rain and places full of water, which they must needs pass, which hindered their passage), they were distressed with famine—finding nothing, by the way, to eat, their bark of provision being not arrived, which was to come unto him from the ships, the oversight and charge whereof he had left unto BURDELOIS, with the rest of the mariners.

Now, he had learned that the Spaniards were four hundred strong, being divided into three forts, builded and flanked, and well fortified upon the *River of May*—the great fort, specially began by the French, and, afterward, repaired by them, upon the most dangerous and principal landing-place, whereof, two leagues lower, and nearer toward the river's mouth, they had made two smaller forts, which were defended—the river passing between them, with six-score soldiers, good store of artillery, and other munition, which they had in the same. From *Saracary*, unto these small forts, was two leagues' space, which he found very painful, because of the bad ways and continual rain. Afterward, he departed from the river *Catacouru*, with ten shot, to view the first fort, and to assault it the next day, in the

1567. morning, by the break of day, which he could not do, because of the foul weather and darkness of the night.

King HELICOPILÉ, seeing him out of quiet, in that he had failed of his purpose there, assured him to guide him a more easy way, though it were farther about; insomuch, as leading him through the woods, he brought him within sight of the fort, where he discerned one quarter, which was but begun to be entrenched. Thus, after he had sounded the small river that falleth down thereby, he staid until ten of the clock in the morning, for an ebb-water, that his men might pass over there unto a place where he had seen a little grove, between the river and the fort (that he might not be seen to pass, and set his soldiers in array), causing them to fasten their stalks to their morions, and to hold up their swords and *kalivers* in their hands, for fear lest the water, which reached up to their girdles, should not wet them, where they found such abundance of great oysters and shells, which were so sharp, that many had their legs cut with them, and many others lost their shoes. Notwithstanding, as soon as they were passed over, with a French courage, they prepared themselves for the assault, on the Sunday eve next after Easter-day, in April, 1568. Insomuch, that GOURGUES, to employ the ardent heat of this good affection, gave twenty shot to his lieutenant (CAZENOVE), and ten mariners, laden with pots and balls of wild-fire to burn the gate, and then he assaulted the fort on another side, after he had made a short speech unto his men of the strange treasons which the Spaniards had played their companions. But, being descried as they came, holding down their heads, within two

hundred paces from the fort, the gunner, being upon the terrace of the fort, after he had cried "Arm! arm! these be Frenchmen!" discharged twice upon them a culverin, whereon the arms of France were graven, which had been taken from Laudonnière; but, as he went about to charge it the third time, OLOTOCARA, which had not learned to keep his rank, or, rather, moved with rage, leapt on the platform, and thrust him through the body with his pike, and slew him. Whereupon GOURGUES advanced forward, and, after he had heard CAZENOVE cry that the Spaniards, which issued out armed at the cry of the alarm, were fled, he drew to that part, and so hemmed them in between him and his lieutenant, that, of three-score, there escaped not a man, saving only fifteen, reserved unto the same death which they had put the French unto. The Spaniards of the other fort, in the meanwhile, ceased not to play with their ordnance, which much annoyed their assailants—although to answer them, they had, by this, placed, and oftentimes, the four pieces found in the first fort.

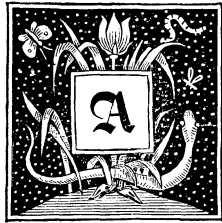
Whereupon GOURGUES, being accompanied with four-score shot, went aboard the bark, which met him there to good purpose, to pass into the wood near unto the fort, out of which he supposed the Spaniards would issue, to save themselves, through the benefit of the woods, in the great fort, which was not past one league distant from the same. Afterward, the savages, not staying for the return of the bark, leapt all into the water, holding up their bows and arrows in one hand, and swimming with the other, so that the Spaniards, seeing both the shores covered with so great a number of men, thought to flee towards

1567. the woods; but, being charged by the French, and, afterwards, repulsed by the savages, towards whom they would have retired, they were sooner, than they would, bereft of their lives. To conclude, they all there ended their days, saving fifteen of those, which were reserved to be executed for the example of others. Whereupon, Captain GOURGUES, having caused all that he found in the second fort to be transported unto the first, where he meant to strengthen himself to take resolution against the great fort, the state, whereof, he did not understand; in fine, a serjeant of a band, one of the prisoners, assured him that they might be there very near three hundred, well furnished, under a brave governor, which had fortified there, attending further succors.

Thus, having obtained of him the platform, the height, the fortification, and passages unto it, and, having prepared eight good lathers, and raised all the country against the Spaniards, that he might not have news, nor succors, nor retreat, on any side, he determined to march forward. In the meanwhile, the governor sent a Spaniard, disguised like a savage, to spy out the state of the French; and, though he were discovered by OLOTOCARA, yet he used all the cunning he could possibly to persuade them that he was one of the second fort, out of which having escaped, and, seeing none but savages on every side, he hoped more in the Frenchmen's than their mercy, unto whom he came to yield himself, disguised like a savage, for fear lest, if he should have been known, he should have been massacred by those barbarians. But the spy, being brought face to face with the serjeant of the band, and convicted to be one of the great

fort, was reserved until another time, after that he had assured 1567.
GOURGUES, that the bruit was, that he had two thousand
Frenchmen with him, for fear of whom the two hundred and
three-score Spaniards, which remained in the great fort, were
greatly astonished. Whereupon GOURGUES, being resolved to
set upon them while they were thus amazed, and, leaving his
standard-bearer and a captain, with fifteen shot, to keep the
fort and the entry of the river, he caused the savages to depart
by night, to lay in ambush within the woods, on both sides
of the river ; then he departed in the morning, leaving the ser-
jeant, and the spy, fast bound, along with him, to show him
that, indeed, which they had only made him understand before,
by painting.

CHAPTER XIX.

1567.

As they marched, OLOTOCARA, a resolute savage, which never left the captain, said unto him, that he had served him faithfully, and done whatsoever he had commanded him; that he was assured to die in the conflict at the great fort; wherein, nevertheless, he would not fail, though it were to save his life; but he prayed him to give unto his wife, if he escaped not, which he had meant to bestow on him, that she might bury the same with him, that thereby he might be better welcome unto the village of the souls, or spirits departed. To whom Captain GOURGUES answered, that he had commended his faithful valor, the love towards his wife, and his noble care of immortal honor; that he desired rather to honor him alive than dead; and that, by GOD's help, he would bring him home again with victory.

After the discovery of the fort, the Spaniards were no niggards of their cannon-shot, nor of two double culverins, which, being mounted upon a bulwark, commanded all along the river, which

made, Captain GOURGUES to get to the hill covered with wood, at the foot whereof the fort beginneth, and the forest, or wood, continueth and stretcheth forth beyond it, so that he had sufficient coverture to approach thereunto, without offence. He purposed, also, to remain there until the morning, wherein he was resolved to assault the Spaniards, by scaling their walls, on the side toward the hill, where the trench seemed not sufficiently flanked for the defence of the *courtains*, and from whence part of his men might draw them that were besieged, which should show themselves, to defend the rampart, while the rest were coming up. But the governor hastened his unhappy destiny, causing three-score shot to sally forth, which, passing through the trenches, advanced forward, to descry the number and valor of the French: whereof twenty, under the conduct of CAZENOVE, getting between the fort and them, which now were issued forth, cut off their repassage, while GOURGUES commanded the rest to charge them in the front, but not to discharge, but near at hand, and so that they might be sure to hit them—that afterward, with more ease, they might cut them in pieces with their swords; so that, turning their backs as soon as they were charged, and compassed in by his lieutenant, they remained all slain upon the place; whereat the rest that were besieged were so astonished, that they knew no other means to save their lives but by fleeing into the woods adjoining; where, nevertheless, being encountered again by the arrows of the savages, which lay in wait there for them (whereof one ran through the target and body of a Spaniard, which therewithal fell down stark dead), some were constrained to turn back,

1567.

1567. South Sea. At length, being desirous to repair the honor of France, he set upon Florida, with such success as you have heard. So that, being become, by his continual warlike actions, both by land and sea, no less valiant captain than skillful mariner, he hath made himself feared by the Spaniards, and acceptable unto the Queen of England, for the desert of his virtues.

To conclude, the Chevalier DE GOURGUES died in the year 1582, to the great grief of such as knew him.